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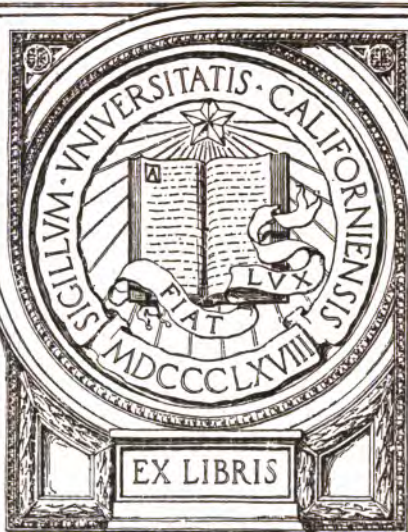
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THE
ADVENTURES
OF
SIGNOR GAUDENTIO DI LUCCA
BEING
THE SUBSTANCE OF HIS EXAMINATION BEFORE
THE FATHERS OF THE INQUISITION,
AT BOLOGNA IN ITALY.

BY BISHOP BERKELEY.

AUTHOR OF THE MINUTE PHILOSOPHER, &c.

DUBLIN :

FOR JOHN CUMMING, 16, LOWER ORMOND-QUAY.

1821.

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TO THE
LIBRARY OF



TO THE READER.

IT is very natural to think the reader would willingly be apprised of two things relating to these memoirs:—First, how this curious manuscript came to light, considering the dark and deep secrecy with which all things are transacted in the inquisition. Secondly, how it came into the translator's hands. To satisfy such a commendable curiosity, he is to be informed, that the manuscript was sent by the secretary of the inquisition at Bologna, to the learned *Signor Rhedi*, keeper of the library of St. Mark at Venice, his intimate friend and correspondent, with the whole account how the author was taken up, and

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and secured in the inquisition, as the letter of the secretary to the same *Signor Rhedi* will shew: which letter, as it gives a great many curious particulars in the examination of the criminal, (for he was taken up as such, although nothing very material was proved against him; for which reason, he received a more favourable treatment than is generally believed to be customary in that dreadful tribunal) so it discovers no indirect practises of the inquisition; but, on the contrary, shews they proceed with a great deal of circumspection within their walls, tho' all things are involved in impenetrable darkness to those without.—Besides the succession of new popes, and, generally speaking, the change of their officers attending it, might make them be less upon their guard, as the secretary seems to hint at in his letter. Neither is there any thing that might do him any harm, in case he were discovered; especially writing to a friend of his own communion, and a priest, as *Signor Rhedi* was; which is likewise seen by the letter.

As to the second *quære*, the manuscript came into the publisher's hands by the means of the same *Signor Rhedi*, who is an honour to his church, profession, and country, and one of the most learned and polite men in the world. He is not so bigotted to his religion or profession, as to shun the company of the *Heretical Tramoniani*, a title the Italians generally give us; but loves and esteems a learned man, although of a different persuasion. One reason for this may be, that he breathes a freer air at Venice, than they do in the other parts of Italy. The inquisition has nothing to do in the Venetian territories. Although they are roman catholics, the state admits of no tribunal independent of itself;—besides, as they are a trading people, their

their commerce obliges them to be civil to persons of all persuasions, especially strangers; but of all others they seem to have the greatest respect for the English; whether it be on account of their power at sea, or their frankness in spending their money, so many of the English nobility and gentry travelling that way; or from the candour and sincerity of our nature, so opposite to the Italians, yet highly esteemed by them: be that as it will, the publisher, who had several times made the tour of Italy, was not only intimately acquainted, but had contracted a particular friendship with *Signor Rhedi*, as well on account of their mutual inclinations for learning and antiquity, as for several reciprocal obligations passing between them. The last time he was at Venice, which was in company of a person of the first rank, who liked the place as well as he did, he stayed there upwards of fifteen months; during which time he had the opportunity of enjoying the conversation of his learned friend, with as much liberty as if he had been of the same persuasion. But, the present of a gold repeating watch, with some other of our English curiosities, so won his heart, that one day being together in the great library, he unlocks a little grate where he kept his rarities, and turning to me with a smile, "*Signor Inglese*," says he, holding a manuscript in his hand, "here is such a curiosity, I am sure you never saw, or perhaps never heard of: it is the life of a person who is now in the inquisition at Bologna, taken from his own confession before the inquisitors; with the account of a country in the heart of the vast deserts of Africa, whose inhabitants have lived unknown to all the world upwards of 3000 years, and inaccessible to all the world, but by

the way he was carried thither. The inquisitors are so far persuaded of the truth of it, that they have promised him his liberty, if he will undertake to conduct some missionaries the same way, to preach the gospel to a numerous people, who, by his account, have the greatest knowledge of natural religion and polity of any heathen nation yet known, even beyond the Chinese. For my own part, I could scarce have believed it, had not the secretary of the same inquisition, who you may be sure, by his post, is not a man to be imposed upon, assured me of the truth of it: nay, that he himself was present at his seizure and examination, and sent me a copy of his life, which he was ordered to give in by the inquisitors; with the whole account of the occasion and manner of his seizure. It seems he had lived some time in Bologna in the quality of a physician, under the name of *Signor Gaudenzio di Lucca*, which he says is his true name, and confirms it by the place of his birth, the names of his parents, time of his captivity, &c. He had dropped some words of several strange secrets he was master of, with mutterings of an unknown nation, religion and customs, quite new to the Italian ears; for which reason the inquisition thought fit to seize him, and by ways and means made use of in that tribunal, obliging him to give an account of his whole life, which is the most surprising I ever read. Here is the secretary's letter, giving a succinct account of the whole affair.—“I have added,” continued he, “some critical remarks in proper places, to shew that this account is not so incredible as it may appear at first sight, and that it agrees with some hints left us in the remains of antient history. Besides, the man stands to the truth of it with a steadfastness

TO THE READER.

self that is surprising.—He is a person of a very handsome presence, well read, good sense, and as it appears to the inquisitors (who are nice judges) of seemingly good morals. He professeth himself a zealous roman catholic, and that he always was so; for which reason, the inquisitors are civiler to him than ordinary.—He gives such a rational and circumstantial account of his adventures, that I am of the secretary's opinion, as to the truth of it. But," added he, "I will not forestal the satisfaction you will find in the perusal:" so delivered the manuscript and the secretary's letter into the publisher's hands, who running his eyes over it for some time, was so struck with the novelty of the thing, that he asked *Signor Rhedi*, whether he might not take a copy of it. He was answered, he could not permit the manuscript to be taken out of the library; nor could he, with safety to himself, allow a stranger, and of a different religion too, the liberty of staying so long in the library by himself, as the transcribing would take up. The publisher said, he might put what guards upon him he pleased, provided he might but transcribe it. No, says he, that is inconvenient too; but I will order one of my under-librarians, I can confide in, to write you an exact copy, with the secretary's letter and my own remarks, if you think them worth your notice; which he did most faithfully; generously commanding the transcriber, at the same time, not to take any thing of me for his pains. Thus, this curious manuscript came to hand, to the infinite satisfaction of the publisher, and he hopes it will prove no less to the reader's, in the perusal of it. The character of *Signor Gaudenzio* cannot be called in question; nor is the publisher a person so little versed in the nature

and ways of the Italians, as to be imposed upon. The translation from the Italian is as exact as possible. This is the previous account the Publisher thought proper to give of this affair.

N. B. Great part of the matters treated of in these memoirs, being transacted in a roman catholic country, and among roman catholics, the reader must not wonder, if they speak of their religion, as if it were the only true one in the world.

It will not be improper to admonish the reader, not to discredit immediately some of the relations contained in these memoirs; but to suspend his judgment till he hath read *Signor Rhedi's* remarks; particularly, when he comes to the origin and antiquity of the people the author speaks of. The learned will find in them such a vast knowledge in history, and the most intricate remains of antiquity, as will render them very well worth their notice. The same *Signor Rhedi* told the publisher, he had enquired into what happened at Venice; particularly what the author mentions of *Monsieur Godart*, one of the most improbable parts of his adventures, and found the whole to be just as he relates it.

The publisher is satisfied the reader will be extremely sorry, as well as himself, for the loss of some sheets belonging to the middle part of this history. How they came to be lost he cannot tell; but he supposeth, by the incivility of the custom-house officers at Marseilles; for they tumbled over his effects at a very rude rate, and while he had an eye on other matters, they either took some of the loose sheets, or they dropped out in the tumbling; at which he was very much troubled, when he came to miss them in the course of the translation.

T H E

INTRODUCTION

TO THE FOLLOWING

MEMOIRS.

Giving an Account of the Causes and Manner
of the Seizure of

Signor Gautentio di Lucca,

And the first Part of his Examination.

In a Letter from the Secretary of the Inquisition,
to SIGNOR RHEDI.

The Italian Titles of *Illustrissimo*, &c. are left out,
as not used in our Language.

S I R,

TH E present turn of *affairs, which fills the heads of other people with intrigues of state, gives me an opportunity of returning my best thanks, for the rich present you were pleased to send to a person who was yours before, by the strictest ties of
A 4 gratitude.

* He either means the death of some Pope, or some extraordinary Crisis in the Romish Oeconomy.

gratitude.—The cabinet, with the other curiosities, came safe to hand, and shew, that whoever is so happy as to oblige *Signor Rhedi*, sows a seed which returns an hundred fold. The poverty of our *profession, hinders me from being capable of making a suitable return, for your magnificent present; but nothing ought to take from me the desire of expressing my acknowledgments. In testimony of it, and to shew that poverty itself may be grateful, I send you by the bearer, the account of a man, whose life has filled our inquisitors with wonder and astonishment. He has been in the inquisition at this place about two years: we have employed all our engines to find out the truth of what he is, and can find nothing material against him, unless it be the unheard of account he gives of himself. Our first inquisitor has obliged him to write his own life, with all the particulars, as succinctly as possible, adding threats withal, that if we find him in a false story, it shall be worse for him. He tells us strange stories of one of the most beautiful countries in the world, in the very heart of the vast deserts of Africa, inaccessible to all the world but by one way, which seems as extraordinary as the country it leads to.—As you are a person of universal knowledge in antiquity, and an admirer of curiosities of this nature, I send you a copy of the manuscript to have your opinion of it; and to give you as clear a notion of the man as I can. You must know, that about three years before he was taken up by the inquisition, he took a neat house at Bologna in quality of a physician, passing thro' some slight examination for form sake, and paying his fees as is customary with strangers.

* The Secretary was a Dominican Friar; the Dominicans being Masters of the Inquisition.

strangers. His name, as he says, is *Gaudenzio di Lucca*,† originally of Lucca, but born in Ragusa;§ he is a tall, handsome, clean-built man, as you shall see in a thousand; of a very polite address, and something very engaging in his aspect, as bespeaks your favour at first sight. He seems to be near fifty; he is a man of good sense and fine discourse, tho' his accent is not pure Italian; because, as he says, of his living so long in foreign countries. He speaks almost all the oriental languages, and has a very competent share of other parts of learning, as well as that of his profession. We sent to Ragusa and Lucca to enquire about him, but could not get the least information of his being known in those parts. The reason of which he has given in his life, as you will see; only at Ragusa, some people remembered there had been a merchant of that name, about five and twenty years ago, who was either lost or taken by pirates, and never heard of more.

The inquisition, as you know, sir, has eyes every where, especially on strangers; we kept an eye on him from his first settling at Bologna; but, as we proceed with justice as well as caution, we could not discover any sufficient reason to take him up. His life was as regular as that of others of his profession, which he did not follow very closely, but only for form sake, being chiefly consulted at his own house, on account of some extraordinary secrets he pretended to be master of, without making any visits but to ladies, with whom he grew in prodigious request. They said he had a sweetness of ease in conversation, that was almost bewitching. This unaccountable fondness of the ladies gave us the first suspicion, lest he should instill some ill notions into that sex; so credulous where they are fond, and so incredulous

† A little Republic in Italy.

§ A Republic in Dalmatia, and tributary to the Turk.

incredulous where they dislike. He professed himself a roman catholic, seemed to have a competent knowledge, and even veneration, considering he was a physician, for our holy mysteries : so we had nothing against him on that account. We could not find that he wanted for money, though he lived rather genteely than magnificently : we found on several occasions, that money, the idol of other people, was the least of his care : and that he had some secret springs we could not fathom. His house was but decently, though completely furnished for one of his rank ; he kept two servants in livery, and a valet de chambre ; who being of this town, knew no more of him than we did. There was an elderly lady we thought had been his wife, but it proved she was not ; a foreigner for whom he seemed to have a great respect, and her maid a foreigner also ; and an elderly maid servant of the town. We have them all secured in the inquisition, tho' he does not know it. She has the remains of a wonderfully fine face, and an air of quality ; she speaks a broken Italian, so that we can get very little out of her but what agrees with his account. I am confident you will rather be pleased with these particulars than think them tedious. There is something so extraordinary in the man, I ought not to omit the least circumstance. We had several consultations about him in our inquisition, as well as our constant intelligences, but could discover nothing of moment ;—we examined what correspondents he had from other parts, and ordered the postmaster to send us all his letters, which we could easily open, and seal up again with the greatest nicety, but we could not find any he had, except one about a moderate rent of four thousand crowns in the bank of Genoa ; and two from a lady of your city of Venice, whom we discovered to be a celebrated courtesan, who subscribes herself *Favilla*. We find by her last letter, that

that he had given her very good advice, and persuaded her to become a penitent; you'll oblige us if you will enquire what she is. Amorous intrigues not falling under our cognizance, we let him alone for some time, having a person under our examination on suspicion of being a jew in masquerade, and a spy from the grand Signor, which kept us employed for some time. Besides, the good advice he gave the courtesan, and he being past his prime, made us less suspicious of the ladies; we supposed they had recourse to him on account of some female infirmities. Tho' the young ladies were most fond of him, his behaviour to them was more an endearing sweetness and courtesy, than love, with very little signs, (at least he had the address to conceal them,) of more kindness for one than another. In fine, persons of the best rank, of both sexes, began to have a prodigious liking for his company; he stole upon them insensibly. As he increased in this good opinion, he opened himself with greater freedom; he made no shew at all at first, more than a fine presence and a polite address: but after further acquaintance, they discovered he was master of most sciences, and shewed a superior genius in any thing they could discourse of. We employed proper persons to insinuate themselves into his good liking, and consult him as a friend on several nice points; but he had such a presence of mind, yet appeared so unconstrained in his discourse, that they owned themselves novices in comparison to him.— If they talked of politicks, he said very judiciously, it was not for men of his rank to meddle with affairs of state, or examine what persons did in the cabinet. If of religion, he seemed to understand it very well for one of his profession; that nothing came from him but what was consonant to the catholic faith; expressing on all occasions a great deference for the authority of the church. But still
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the more sagacious were persuaded something more than ordinary lay hid under that specious cover.— At length talking one day with some of our spies about the customs of foreign countries, he said, he had met with a nation in one of the remotest parts of the world, who, tho' they were heathens, had more knowledge of the law of nature and common morality, than the most civilized christians. This was immediately carried to us, and explained as a reflection on the christian religion. Another time, as he had a great knowledge in philosophy, he dropt some words, as if he had some skill in judicial astrology; which, you know, sir, is a capital crime with us. We were as good as resolved to seize him, when we were determined to it by the following accident. Two of the most beautiful women in all Bologna had fallen in love with him, either on account of the handsomeness of his person, or by a whimsicalness peculiar to some women, because he was a stranger; or thinking he might keep their secrets better under the cloak of being a physician; or in fine, drawn in by some love potion, or other, we can't tell; but the matter grew to such a height, that on his shewing more favour to one than the other, our women being most violent in their jealousy as well as love, the other to be revenged, said he had bewitched her; which she was sure of, for that, since the very first time she saw him, she thought there was something more in him, than ever she saw in any man in her life. Besides, she said, she had often found him drawing circles and figures on paper, which to her looked like conjuration. Her friends immediately informed our fathers of it; so we resolved to seize him, if it were but to find out his secrets, and see what the man was. There was another reason induced us to it, which the world will hardly believe, tho' it is matter of fact: that is, we were afraid the man would be assassinated by some

son's secret means or other, for being so great with our ladies; so to save his life, and not lose the discoveries we expected from him, it was determined he should be seized immediately. Accordingly, I was deputed with three under-officers, to do the business, but with all the caution and secrecy usual in such cases. It was done about midnight, when we had watched one of the two ladies that he favoured most, into his house. We went in a close coach, and myself and one of the officers stopping at the door, as soon as the servant opened it, stepped in, telling him what we were, and charging him at his peril not to make the least noise. The servants being Italians, and knowing the consequence of the least resistance, stood as mute as fishes. We immediately went into the inner parlour, and contrary to our expectation, found our gentleman, the young lady with her governante, and the elderly lady that belonged to him, sitting very decently at an elegant collation of fruits and sweet-meats, brought, as we supposed, by the fair lady as a present. At our first appearance, he seemed more surprised than terrified. As we make no ceremonies in those cases, we told him our errand, and commanded him to come along with us without the least resistance, or else it should be worse for him. Then we turned to the young lady, whose friends and person we knew, and told her, we wondered to find her in such company, at such unseasonable hours; but on account of her friends, would not meddle with her, but bid her for her own sake, as she tender'd her life and honour, never to take the least notice of the affair. She trembling, and ready to faint away, after some hesitation, was able to say, that she was come to consult about her health; that she brought her governante along with her to take off all suspicion, and as she was mistress of herself and fortune, it was not unusual for persons of her rank to be out at that time, considering

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the heat of the season. She had scarce pronounced these words, when she fell directly into a swoon. Her governante having things proper for such occasions, revived and comforted her as well as she could. But when we were going to take the gentleman along with us, the elderly lady, to whom we suppose he had told his misfortune, instead of falling into fits, flew at us like a tigress, with a fury I never saw in any human creature in my life; tearing at us with her nails and teeth, as if she had been in the most raging madness. We, not accustomed to resistance, considering our character and cloth, and she a woman, were almost motionless; when the servants at the noise came up, we commanded them in the name of the inquisition to seize her: the gentleman interposed in our favour, saying some words to her in an unknown language, which he assured us was to beg her to be pacified, as she tender'd his life as well as her own; then the violence of her passion turned another way, and threw her into the strongest convulsions I ever saw. By this time the other two officers were come up, wondering at our delay, and to find resistance against the officers of the inquisition. The gentleman with a becoming submission, rather than fear, yielded himself a prisoner, and begged us to pardon the sudden transports of a person unacquainted with our customs, whose life in some manner depended on his. That she was a Persian lady of quality, brought into this country by great misfortunes, who had once saved his life, as he had been afterwards instrumental in saving hers. That she was disposed to turn christian, with intention after some time to end her days in a convent. That for his own part, relying on his innocence, he readily submitted to our authority, and offered himself to be carried wherever we pleased: he uttered all this with an air of constancy that was surprising. We immediately took him into the coach, leaving
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two of the officers with the elderly lady, and commanding them and the gentleman's servants not to stir out of the room till further orders. As soon as we arrived at the inquisition, we lodged him in a handsome strong room; not so much like a criminal, as like a person for whom we had some respect. There we left him to his own thoughts, and returned to his house to seize the elderly lady and his papers. Having dismissed the young lady and her governante before, I forgot to tell you, that *Signor Gaudenzio*, by our permission, had spoke to her coming out of her fits, in Italian, (for we would not let him speak to her in the unknown language, for fear of a combination) and with much pains made her understand, that he begged her by all that was dear; to submit to whatever we should enjoin her; assuring her by that means all would be well for her safety and his own, which last word seemed to give some calm to her tempestuous spirits.—You may believe, sir, we were much surpris'd at the novelty of the thing, and the account he gave of her quality. But often meeting with false stories in our employment, that did not hinder us from doing our duty: so, I took her by the hand with a great deal of respect, and put her into the coach between myself and my companion; not without apprehensions of some extravagant follies, considering the violence of her temper. But she continued pretty sedate, only seemed to be overwhelmed with grief: we brought her to the inquisition, and lodged her in a very handsome apartment separate from the convent, on account of her sex; with two waiting women to attend her with all respect, 'till we were better apprized of the truth of her quality. This obliged me to take another journey to *Signor Gaudenzio's* house, to secure his papers, with whatever else might contribute to further our discovery. I found all things in the same order I left them; but being ex-

tremely fatigued, I sat down to the elegant collation that was left, and after a small repast, went to bed in his house, to have the morning before us for securing his effects.——I sealed up all the papers I could find, to examine them at more leisure; took an inventory of all the moveables, that they might be restored to him in case he were found innocent; and sent for a proper officer to remain in the house, who was to be responsible for every thing. There were two little cabinets of curious workmanship; one of them, as it appeared, belonged to him, the other to the strange lady, but being full of intricate drawers or tills, we took them both along with us. These, and the papers, we delivered to the head inquisitors, not being willing to proceed in either of their examinations, till we had got all the light we could, to find out the truth, for that was all our aim; then we could tell what course to take with them. We placed two cunning lay brothers, in the nature of servants for *Signor Gaudenzio*, who were to insinuate themselves into his favour by their kind offices, compassionating his misfortunes, and advising him to discover the whole truth, in the account of his life, quality, profession, opinions, and in fine, whatever articles he was to be interrogated on, to confess ingenuously what he knew: that that was the only way to find favour at the hands of the inquisitors, that they pardoned almost all faults on a sincere confession, and an assurance of amendment. I visited him myself several times before his examination, and gave him the same advice and assurance. he promised me faithfully he would, and seemed so steady and confirmed in his own innocence, with such an agreeable, yet sincere way in his discourse, as really surprised me, and caused me already to be prejudiced in his favour; adding with a smile, that the history of his life would administer more cause of wonder than indignation.——Not to be too particular,

ticular, the chief of the inquisition, with myself along with them, set to the scrutiny of his papers; we examined them with all the care imaginable, but could find nothing to ground any material accusation, except some imperfect memoirs of the customs of a country and people unheard of to us, and, I believe, to all the world beside; with some odd characters or words, which had no affinity with any language or characters we ever saw. We discovered he had a great knowledge in natural philosophy, with some remarks that were very curious. There was a rough draught of a map, of a country with towns, rivers, lakes, &c. but no climate marked down. In short, all his papers contained nothing but some small sketches of philosophy and physic, with some pieces of poetry of an uncommon taste. Neither could we find any footsteps of judicial astrology, or calculations of nativities, of which we had the greatest suspicion, only a pair globes, a set of mathematical instruments, charts of navigation, forms of unknown trees and plants, and such like things, as all gentlemen who delight in travelling are curious to have. There were indeed some lines, circles, segments of circles, which we supposed the informing lady meant; but looked like an attempt to find out the longitude rather than any magical schemes.—His books were of the same nature; nothing of heresy that we could see, but such as belonged to a man of learning. There were several common books of devotion, such as are approved of by our church, and seemed pretty well used; by which we judged him to be really a roman catholic, and a person of no bad morals. But, as nothing looks so like an honest man as a knave, this did not take away all our suspicion.—When we came to open the cabinets, in the first of them, which belonged to him, we found in one of the drawers about four hundred and fifty roman crowns, with other

small money, and some foreign coin along with it, as Turkish sequins, and some we knew nothing of. The sum not being very extraordinary, we could conclude nothing from thence. In another drawer we found several precious stones, some set, some unset, of a very great value, so far from being counterfeit, that we never saw any so brilliant. Besides, several pieces of native gold, of such fineness as nothing with us can come up to it. In a third, we found a small heap of medals most of gold, but of an unknown stamp and antiquity. There were outlandish stones of odd figures enough, which to others might look like talismans, but we took them for some out-o'-the way curiosities. In a private drawer in the center of the cabinet, there was something wrapt up in a piece of green silk of wonderful fineness, all embroidered with hearts and hands joined together, wrought in gold with prodigious art, and intermixed with different flowers, unknown in our part of the world; in the midst of it was an azure stone, as large as the palm of one's hand, set round with rubies of very great value, on which was most artfully painted in miniature, a woman at length, holding a little boy in her left hand, the most beautiful creature that ever eyes beheld; clad likewise in green silk, spankled with golden suns; their complexion was somewhat darker than that of our Italian ladies; but the features, especially the woman's, so uncommonly beautiful, as if she had been of another species, and under was engraved with a diamond, in a modern hand, "*Questo Solo.*" You may be sure, sir, this raised our ideas of the man; at first we thought he had the secret of the philosopher's stone: but in all his inventory we could find no implements of that art. Then we thought he must have been some famous pirate, or one who had robbed the cabinet of some great prince, and come to live at Bologna in that private manner,

manner, under the disguise of a physician. But having been three years in the town, if it had been any European prince, the world would have had an account of it before now: so we concluded that either what he said of that unknown country was true, or that he had robbed some of the eastern princes, and got off clear with his prize. But the picture of the woman made us incline to think, he had married some outlandish queen, and on her death had retired with her effects. The rest of the drawers were full of natural curiosities of foreign plants, roots, bones of animals, birds, insects, &c. from whence very likely he took his physical secrets. The other cabinet, which belonged to the elderly lady, was very rich, but nothing nigh the first; there were a great many small jewels, and some very fine pearls, with bracelets, pendants, and other curious ornaments belonging to women, and a little picture of a very handsome man about thirty, nothing like our gentlemen, in a warlike dress, with a Turkish scimitar by his side. By his mein he seemed to be a man of note, but we could find nothing that could give us any insight what they were: so, that we were at a loss with all our sagacity what to think of the matter, or to find any just cause to keep them in the inquisition; for, tho' we don't discover our motives to other people, we never proceed against any one but on very strong suspicions: on which account we were resolved to make his confinement as easy as possible, till we could see further into the affair. We had thoughts of examining the woman first, to get what we could from her for his interrogatories; but she not understanding Italian enough, we sent to Venice with our accustomed privacy, for some of your people, that trade to the Levant, to be our interpreters.— In the mean time we resolved to try what we could get out of him by his own confession; so we sent for

for him before us. He came into the room with a modest unconcernedness, that rather argued wonder than apprehension; we had the cabinet and jewels all before us, shewed them to him all together, with the inventory of his goods, assuring him they should be forth-coming, in case we were apprized of his innocence; but withal advising him, as well as commanding him to confess the truth, and then not a hair of his head should be touched. But, if ever we caught him in a false story, all should be confiscated, and he never see sun or moon more. He assured us, with great respect, he would own the truth to every thing we should interrogate him about, in an accent that would have persuaded any one of his sincerity, humbly desiring to know what accusations we had against him. We answered, that was not the method of the inquisition, but that he should answer directly to our interrogatories. As the holy office chiefly concerns itself about religion, we asked him first, what religion he was of. The reason of this was, because, tho' he professed himself a roman catholic, we were to keep up the forms. Neither did we know, but that he might be some jew or Turkish spy in masquerade; then his name? place of his birth? where he was educated? how he came by those jewels? what was the occasion of his settling at Bologna? who that elderly lady was? in fine, every thing, in general and particular, we could think of at first, the better to compare his answers afterwards. He told us, he was a roman catholic bred and born; always professed himself such, and in that faith would live and die, let what will happen to him. He explained himself on the chief heads, to shew that he was well instructed in his religion: he appealed to all the enquiries we could make, whether he had not behaved as a roman catholic on all occasions, naming a capuchin in the town, who was his father confessor; to whom, he

he said, he gave leave to declare all he knew on that head. As to his name, he said, his true name was *Gaudenzio di Lucca*, tho' born at Ragusa. That his father was a merchant trading to the Levant, which employment he designed to follow himself, but in his first voyage was taken by an Algerine pirate, who carried him a slave to Grand Cairo, and sold him to a merchant, of what country nobody knew; which merchant took him along with him, thro' the vast deserts of Africa, by a way he would describe to us if we required it, till he came to a country, perhaps, the most civilized and polite in the whole universe. In that country he lived near five and twenty years, till on the death of his wife, and his only surviving son, whose pictures were in the cabinet; the melancholy disaster made him induce his father-in-law, who was the merchant that had first bought him, to take another journey to Grand Cairo, from whence he might be able to return to his native country. This the merchant (for he passed for such, tho' he was a great ruler in his own country) complied with: but happening to come thither when the plague raged in the city, his father-in-law and several of his attendants died of it; leaving him heir to most of his effects, and part of the jewels we saw before us. That being now entirely at liberty, he returned in a French ship trading from Marseilles to the Levant; the master's name was *Francois Xavier Godart*, who by agreement was to land him at Venice, but touching at Candy, they accidentally saved the life of that elderly lady, and brought her off along with them, for which they were pursued by two Turkish vessels, and carried prisoners to Constantinople, but released by the order of the sultaness mother. That *Monsieur Godart* was well known at Venice, particularly by *Signor Corridani*, an eminent merchant there, who could assure us of the truth of what he said. That, in
fine,

france, having staid some time at Venice to see the curiosities and the carnival, an affair relating to the young lady we saw with him, when he was seized, and the love he had for learning, Bologna being a famous university, induced him to settle there, where he presumed we had been very well informed of his behaviour ever since. This, said he, is the most succinct account I can give to your reverences on the interrogatories you have proposed to me; tho' my life has been chequered with such a variety of incidents, as would take a great deal of time to descend to particulars. We looked at one another with some surprize at this strange account, which he delivered with such an air of steadiness, as scarce left any room to doubt of the truth of it. However, our superior turned to him, and said, "*Signor Gaudenzio*, we neither believe or disbelieve what you tell us: as we condemn no man without a full conviction of his crime, so we are not to be imposed upon, by the accounts people may give of themselves; what is here before us, shews there is something extraordinary in the case. If we find you to be an impostor, you shall suffer as such; in the mean time, till we can be better informed, we enjoin you to give in your whole life, with all occurrences, except your private sins, if you have any, in writing; which you shall read to us, and be cross-examined as we think proper. It will concern you therefore to be very exact, for nothing will pass here but innocence, or a sincere repentance."

This, sir, is the manuscript I send you, given in by himself as ordered; with the inquisitor's interrogatories as we examined it, article by article: which interrogatories, I have inserted as they were proposed; with a further account at the end, for the better clearing of the whole. We beg you to inform yourself of the facts, which his memoirs say happened to him at Venice, particularly about

Monsieur

INTRODUCTION. xxiii

Monsieur Godart. Besides, sir, you that can trace all the branches of antient history to the fountain head, are able to form a better judgment of the probability of his relation. He is still in the inquisition, and offers himself to conduct some of our missionaries to preach the gospel to those unknown people.—The length of this only gives me leave to assure you, that

I am,

with the greatest esteem imaginable,

Sir, &c.

F. Alisio de St. Ivorio.

Bolegna,

July 20th,—1721]

THE



T H E

M E M O I R S

O F

Signor Gaudenzio di Lucca.

I SHOULD be insensible, reverend fathers, if I were not highly concerned to find myself under any accusation before this holy tribunal, which I revere with all the powers of my soul : but, particularly, if your reverences should harbour any sinister opinion of my religion ; for I was born and bred up in the bosom of the most holy catholic church, as well as my parents before me ; and in the defence of which, my ancestors spent part of their blood against the infidels and enemies of our faith ; and for which faith I am ready to lay down my life.—

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THE MEMOIRS OF

But I am as yet a stranger to your reverences, and on several accounts may be liable to suspicion; wherefore, I blame not the justice of your proceeding, but rather extol your goodness in allowing me the liberty to clear myself, by a true and sincere declaration of my whole life, wherein I own, have happened several astonishing, and almost incredible, occurrences; all which I shall lay before your reverences, according to the commands imposed on me, with the utmost candour and sincerity.

My name is *Gaudenzio di Lucca*; I was so called because my ancestors were said to be originally of that place. Tho' they had been settled for some time at Ragusa, where I was born; both which places are not so far off but they may be very well known to your reverences. My father's name was *Gasparino di Lucca*, heretofore a merchant of some note in those parts; my mother was a Corsican lady, reported to be descended from those who had been the chief personages in that island; my grandfather was likewise a merchant; but my great grandfather, *Bernardino di Lucca*, was a soldier, and captain of the great *Venerio's* own galley, (1) who was general for the Venetians, in the famous battle of Lepanto against the Turks. We had a tradition in our family, that he was *Venerio's* son by a Grecian lady of great quality; some say, descended from the *Paleologi*, who had been emperors of Constantinople. But she dying in childbed, and they having been only privately married, *Venerio* bred him up as the son of a friend of his who was killed in the wars. That famous battle in which the christians and *Venerio* got so great renown against the Turks, instead of raising my great grandfather's fortune, was the occasion of his retiring from the wars, and turning merchant. The reason was this; *Venerio*, the Venetian admiral, had caused a Spanish captain to be

be hung up at the yard-arm for mutiny; (2). which severe discipline so displeased *Don John* of Austria, generalissimo of the whole fleet, that after the battle, the Venetians, to appease *Don John*, and not to be deprived of the succours of the Spaniards against the Turks, were forced to sacrifice *Venerio's* honor to the resentment of the Spaniards, and put him out of commission. (3) After this disgrace, *Venerio* retired; and my great grandfather, whose fortune depended on his, having been bred up to the sea, turned merchant, or rather privateer against the Moors; and with the knights of Malta, not only did great service against them, but made a considerable fortune in the world.

Remarks of Signor Rhedi.

(1) This part of the account is certainly true; there was such a captain in the list of the officers in that famous battle.

(2) 'Tis likewise true, that there was such a quarrel between *Don John* of Austria, the generalissimo, and *Venerio*, admiral of the Venetian galleys; which had like to have put the whole christian fleet at variance together, before the battle, and ruined the hopes of all christendom. The occasion was, as he relates it,—*Don John*, as generalissimo, viewing the whole fleet before the fight, and finding the Venetian galleys too thinly manned, ordered four thousand Spaniards to be put on board the said galleys. But one *Mutis Tortona*, a Spanish captain, proving mutinous, after a great many injurious words, came to blows with the captain of the Venetian galley, where he was; upon which the whole fleet fell to it. *Venerio* hearing the uproar, sent his own captain to see what was the matter; but the proud Spaniards treated him no better than they did the rest; so that *Venerio* himself was forced to come to appease them; but seeing the Spanish captain persist in his mutinous temper, and the affront he had put upon his captain, who was reported to be his son, ordered *Tortona* and his antient to be hung at the yard-arm. At this all the Spaniards in the fleet were up in arms, and threatened to cut the Venetians to pieces; but by the interposition of the other generals, the matter was made up till after the fight. When *Venerio*, who had behaved with incomparable valour, and according to *Don John's* own confession, was the chief occasion of the victory,

victory, to appease the haughty Spaniard, had his commission taken from him, and was recalled by the senate.

(3) It was *Fuscarini* who was made general of the Venetians in *Venerio's* stead.

Every one who is the least acquainted with history knows, that the battle of Lepanto was the greatest sea-fight that ever was fought between the christians and Turks; and the victory on the christians side the most signal. The Spanish gallies were commanded by *Don John* of Austria, generalissimo; the pope's gallies, by the famous *Colonna*; the Genoese by old *Doria*, who had gained so much renown against the Turks and French, under *Charles V*; and the Venetians, by the great *Venerio*, one of the bravest soldiers of his time.—*Haly* the turk, great bassa of the sea, was slain, and almost all the Turkish commanding officers killed or taken. Among the prisoners were *Haly's* two sons, nephews to the grand signor. Of the common soldiers of the turks, were slain two and thirty thousand; a hundred and forty one of the enemies gallies were taken; forty sunk or burnt, of galliots and other small vessels were taken about sixty.—*Vide* the Turkish history and other accounts of this famous battle, and the whole affair as is related.—The battle was fought on the 7th October, 1571.

Continuation of the Memoirs.

BUT to return to myself:—My father having a plentiful fortune, took particular care of the education of his children. He had only two sons, of whom I was the youngest, and a daughter who died young. Finding I had a great inclination to learning, he promoted it by providing me with the best masters, till I was fit to go to the university. The knowledge of languages being of great use as well as ornament to young gentlemen, he himself, by way of recreation, taught me that mixed language called *Lingua Franca*, so necessary in eastern countries; it is made up of Italian, Turkish, Persian, and Arabian; or rather a jargon of all languages mixed

mixed together. He scarce ever spoke to us but in that language, saying, we might learn latin from masters, and our mother-tongue from our play fellows. The same reason induced him to send me to the famous university of Paris to learn French, at the same time with my other studies. I lived in the college des Quatre Nations, and maintained my theses of universal philosophy under the celebrated *Monsieur du Hamil*, one of the first in the university, who decryed *Aristotle's* philosophy, and leaned towards the opinions of *Descartes*.

SECRETARY.—Here the inquisitors muttered a little, fearing he was inclined to the *Copernican* system, which hath been condemned at Rome. But, since it regarded philosophical matters only, they passed it over.

I was entering into my nineteenth year, and had some thoughts of taking to the church; when my brother wrote me the melancholy account of my father and mother's death, and the unfortunate occasion of it; which in short was, that having lost his richest ship with all his effects, by pirates, and his chief factor at Smyrna being gone off, his other correspondents came upon him thick; he was not in a condition to answer their calls, which threw him and my mother into so deep a melancholy, that it broke their hearts, dying in three weeks one after the other. My brother told me he was not able to maintain me at the university, as I had been; but acquainted me he had made a shift to rig out a small vessel, wherein he had put his all; and invited me to join the small portion that fell to my share along with him, with which, he said, we could make a pretty good bottom; and so retrieve the shattered fortune of our family. Not to be too prolix,—I followed his advice; he sold his house and gardens to pay his father's creditors, and put what was left, together with my little stock, into that unfortunate

bottom. We set sail from Ragusa, the 3d of March, Anno Dom. 1688, very unauuspiciously for my dear brother, as will appear by the sequel. We called in at Smyrna, to see if we could hear any thing of my father's factor. We were told he was turned turk, and was gone off to settle at Constantinople, very magnificently dressed up in borrowed feathers. However we picked up something of some honest christian merchants, with whom he had lodged some of his effects. This encouraged us to go on for Cyprus and Alexandria; but, as we were pursuing our voyage, one morning in a prodigious fog, as if the sea was fatal to our family, we saw on a sudden two Algerine rovers coming close up to us, one on each side. We had scarce time to see where we were, when they fired upon us, and commanded us to yield, or we were dead men. My brother and I considering that our all was at stake, and that we had better die honourably than be made slaves by those unbelieving miscreants, called up our men, who were but twenty-three in all, of whom five were young gentlemen, who had engaged to try their fortune along with us. They were armed only with swords and pistols under their girdles; after a short consultation, we resolved to fight it out to the last man: we turned back to back to make head against both sides. My brother in the middle of one rank, and myself in the other; the enemy mounted our deck by crowds, looking on us as madmen, to pretend to make any resistance; but they were soon made to leap back, at least all that were able; for being close up with them, and the enemy crowded together, we fired our pistols so luckily, that scarce one missed doing execution. Seeing them in this confusion, we made a push at them on one side, still keeping our ranks, and drove the remainder headlong off the deck; this we did twice before any of our men dropped. We were grappled so close, they had

had no use of their cannon or muskets, and scarce thought of firing their pistols at us, but expected we should yield immediately, or to have borne us down with their weight. I am more particular in describing this petty fight, since there are but few examples where a handful of men made such a long resistance. The arch-pirate, who was a stout well-built young man, raged like a lion, calling his men a thousand cowards, so loud, that his voice was heard above all the cries of the soldiers. The edge of their fury was a little abated at the dropping of so many men. They began to fire at some distance, which did us more harm than their most furious attack. My brother seeing his men begin to drop in their turn, ordered me to face the one ship, while he with his rank leaped in amongst the enemy in the other. He did it with such a generous intrepidity, that he made a gap among the thickest of them immediately. But their numbers closing together, their very weight drove him back in spite of all he could do, that he lost several of his men before he could recover his post. The enemy would neither board us, nor leave us; but firing at us continually, still killed some of our men. There were now only eleven of us left; and no hopes of victory or quarter after such obstinate resistance. They durst not come to a close engagement with us for all this; when my brother, to die as honourably as he could; once more leaped into the pirate's ship, and seeing their captain in the midst of them, made at him with all his might, calling on the few he had left to second him, he soon cut his way through; but just as he was coming up to him, a cowardly turk clapt a pistol just below his two shoulder blades, and I believe shot him quite through the heart, for he dropped down dead on the spot. The turk that shot him was run through the body by one of our men, and he himself, with the others that were

were left, being quite over-powered, were all cut in pieces. I had yet left four men on my side against the lesser ship, and had untill then kept off the enemy from boarding; but the pirates giving a great shout at my brother's fall, the captain of the ship I was engaged with, who was the arch-pirate's brother, cried out to his crew, that it was a shame to stand all day firing at five men; so he leaped on my deck, and made at me like a man of honour, with his pistol steadily poised in his hand: I met him with equal resolution; he came boldly up within swords length, and fired his pistol directly at my face; he aimed his shot so right, that one of the balls went thro' my hair, and the other scarred the side of my neck: but before he could second his shot I gave him such a stroke with my broad sword between the temple and the left ear, that it cut thro' part of his skull, his cheek-bone, and going across his mouth, almost severed the lower part of his face from the upper. I had just the satisfaction to see him fall, when a musket ball went thro' the brawny part of my right arm, and, at the same time, a turk hit me just in the nape of the neck, with the butt-end of his musket, and I fell down flat on my face, on the body of my slain enemy. My companions, all but one, who died of his wounds soon after, fell honourably by my side. The turks poured in from both ships like wolves upon their prey. After their barbarous shouts and yelling for the victory, they fell to stripping the dead bodies, and threw them into the sea without any further ceremony.— All our crew beside myself were slain or gasping with three score and fifteen of the enemy. The reason why we fought so desperately, was, that we knew very well, having killed so many at the first attacks, we were to expect no quarter, so we were resolved to sell our lives as dear as we could. When they came to strip me like the rest, I was just come
to

to myself, being only stunned at the stroke of the musket; they found by my cloths, that I was one of the most considerable persons of the crew: I was got upon my knees endeavouring to rise, and reaching for my sword to defend myself to the last gasp, I found I could not hold it in my hand, by reason of the wound in my arm, tho' if I could it had been needless; for three of them fell down upon me, and pressing me to the deck, while others brought cords and tied my hands, to carry me to the captain. He was dressing a slight wound he had in his leg with a pistol shot; and four women in Persian habits standing by; three of them seeming to be attendants to the fourth, who was a person of the largest size, about five or six and twenty, but a most exquisite beauty, except an Amazonian kind of fierceness in her looks. When I was brought thus bound to the captain, they assured him I was the man that had slain his brother, and done the most harm of any of the rest. He starting up in the greatest fury a barbarian was capable of, and calling for a new scimitar he had in his cabin, said, "let me, if I can, cleave the head of this christian dog, as he did my poor brother's; then all of you cut him in a thousand pieces." With that he drew the scimitar, and was just going to strike, when, to the astonishment of the very barbarians, the strange lady cried out, "O save that brave young man!" and immediately falls down on her knees by me, catching me in her arms, and clasping me close to her bosom, and covering my body with her own, cried out, "strike, cruel man, but strike thro' me, for otherwise a hair of his head shall not be hurt." The barbarians that stood round us were struck dumb with amazement. The pirate lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and with a groan enough to break his heart, said, "how, cruel woman! shall this stranger in a moment obtain more than I can with all my sighs and tears!

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Is this your paramour that robs me of what I have fought for with the danger of my life?—No, this christian dog shall be no longer my cursed rival ;” and lifting up his hand, was going to strike again, when she covering me more closely with her delicate body, cried out again, “ hold, *Hamet* ! this is no rival, I never saw his face before, nor ever will again, if you will but spare his life ; grant me this, and you shall obtain more from me, than all your services could ever do.” Here he began to pause a little. For my part I was as much in amaze as he was. After a little pause, he said, “ cruel woman ! what is the meaning of this ?” “ There is something” says she, “ in this young man, (for I was but turned of nineteen) that he must not die : but, if you will engage, and swear by the most Holy Alcoran, you will do him no harm, I not only promise to be your wife, but, to take off all umbrage of jealousy ; I give you leave to sell him to some honourable person for a slave, and will never see him more.” Nor would she loose me ‘till he had sworn in that solemn manner, never to do me any hurt, directly or indirectly ; and for greater security, ordered one of her own servants to attend me constantly. So I was unbound, and she, without so much as looking at me, or staying to receive my thanks, retired with her women into the cabin. The pirate, who had something very noble in his looks for a turk, confirmed again to me in the hearing of her officer, that I should receive no harm ; then ordered me to be carried under deck to the other end of the ship, commanding his men to steer back for Alexandria, in order, as I supposed, to dispose of me the first opportunity, that he might be rid, as he thought, of so formidable a rival.

SECRETARY.—Here the superior of the inquisition received a message for some other business ; so we told him we would consider further of the account

count he gave us; which, said we, might be true, tho' the adventure was extraordinary; but we would hear the remaining account of his life another time. He assured us with the most natural air, that the whole, let it seem never so extraordinary, was real fact. Whether it were true or false, did not much concern the holy office, only so far as we might catch him tripping in his story. However, some of the inquisitors asked him the following questions:

FIRST INQUISITOR.—“Why did you not yield at first, considering the prodigious inequality of your strength and numbers, when you might have been ransomed afterwards; and not expose yourselves like madmen, to be cut in pieces, as you really all were, except yourself?”

GAUDENTIO.—I told your reverences we had put our all in that bottom; which once lost, we had nothing to ransom ourselves withal; but in all likelihood must have remained in slavery all our lives. We were, most of us, rash young men, of more courage than prudence; we did not doubt but we could keep them off from boarding us, as we did; and thought, by that warm reception, they would have given us over; besides, fighting against turks and infidels, tho' it were for our lives and fortunes, at the same time, we judged it meritorious, and might be looked upon as laying down our lives for our holy religion.

SECOND INQUISITOR.—“You said, that the strange lady cried out, there is something in that young man that tells me *he must not die*: I hope you don't pretend to the science of physiognomy, which is one of the branches of divination: or that an infidel or heathen woman could have the spirit of prophecy?”

GAUDENTIO.—I can't tell what was her motive for saying so: I only relate matter of fact. As for physiognomy, I don't think there can be any thing
certain

certain in it: not but that a person of penetration, who has consider'd the humours and passions of men, and the little care the generality of the world take to resist them; I say, such a person who has studied men, may give a great guess, *a posteriori*, how they are inclined, tho' reason and virtue may overcome the most violent. But I entirely submit my opinion to your better judgments.

SECRETARY.—I can't say we were dissatisfied with these answers: we saw he was a person of a very noble presence; and must have been extremely handsome in his youth: no wonder a barbarian woman should fall in love with him, and make use of that turn to save his life. However, for the present, we remanded him back to his apartment.—Some days after he was called again to prosecute his story.

While I was under deck, in confinement with the pirates, several of them were tolerably civil to me; knowing the ascendant the lady had over their captain, and being witnesses how she had saved my life. But yet she would not consent to marry him till she was assured I was safe out of his hands. The arch-pirate never came to see me himself, not being willing to trust his passion; or else to watch all favourable opportunities of waiting on his mistress. One day being indisposed for want of air, I begged to be carried upon deck to breath a little; when I came up I saw the lady, with her woman, standing at the other end of the ship on the same account. I made her a very respectful bow at a distance; but as soon as ever she cast her eye on me, she went down into the cabin, I suppose to keep her promise with the captain, and not to administer any cause of jealousy. I desired to be carried down again, not to hinder my benefactress from taking her diversion. I can't say I found in myself the least inclination or emotion of love, only a sense of gratitude for so
great

great a benefit ; not without some admiration of the oddness of the adventure. When I was below, I asked the most sensible and civilized of the pirates, who their captain was, and who was my fair deliverer ; how long, and by what means, she came to be among them ? because, she seemed to be a person of much higher rank. He told me, his captain's name was *Hamet*, son to the dey of Algiers ; who had forsaken his father's house on account of his young mother-in-law's falling in love with him ; for which reason his father had contrived to have him assassinated, believing him to be in the fault. But his younger brother, by the same mother, discovered the design. So gathering together a band of stout young men like themselves, they seized two of their father's best ships, and resolved to follow the profession they were now of, till they heard of their father's death. That as for the lady who had saved my life, she was the late wife of a petty prince of the Curdi, (1) tributary to the king of Persia, whose husband had been lately killed by treachery, or in an ambuscade of the wild Arabs. That, as far as he had been informed, the prince, her husband, had been sent by the king his master to Alexandria ; (2) who apprehending an insurrection among his subjects, (3) had ordered him to treat for some troops of Arabian horse. (4) That he went there with a very handsome equipage, and took his beautiful wife along with him. Our captain, continued, he, happened to be there at the same time, to sell his prizes, and had not only sold several things of great value to the Curdish lord and lady, but had contracted a particular friendship with him ; tho' as we found since, it was more on account of his fair wife than any thing else. Nothing in the world could be more obsequious than our captain. He attended them, and offered his service on all occasions. You see he is a very handsome man, and dar-

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ing by his profession. We could not imagine for a long while, why he made such a stay at that town contrary to his custom; living at a very high rate, as men of our calling generally do. At length the Curdish lord having performed his commission, was upon the return, when we perceived our captain to grow extremely pensive and melancholy, but could not tell what was the cause of it. He called his brother, who lost his life by your hand, and me to him, and told us in private, he had observed some of the Arabian strangers muttering together, as if they were hatching some plot or other; whether against himself, or the curd, he could not tell; but bid us be sure to attend him well armed wherever he went. The event proved he had reason for his suspicions; for one evening, as the curd and his wife were taking the air, with our captain, who was always of the party, passing thro' a little grove about a league out of town, six Arabian horsemen, exceedingly well mounted, came full gallop up to us, and without saying a word, two of them fired their pistols directly at the Curdish lord, who was the foremost, but by good fortune missed us all. The curd, as all that nation are naturally brave, (5) drew his scimitar, and rushing in among them, cut off the foremost man's head, as clean as if it had been a poppy; but advancing too far, unarmed as he was, one of them turned short, and shot him in the flank, that he dropped down dead immediately. Our captain seeing him fall, rushed in like lightning, his brother and myself falling on them at the same time: but the assassins, as if they wanted nothing but the death of the curd, or saw by our countenance their staying would cost them dear, immediately turned their horses, and fled so swiftly on their jennets, that they were out of sight in an instant. We conducted the poor disconsolate lady and her dead husband back to the town, where those people made
no

no more of it, being accustomed to such things, than if it had been a common accident. When her grief was a little abated, our captain told the lady, that it was not safe for her to return home the same way she came; that in all probability, those who killed her husband were in confederacy with the dissaffected party, and would way-lay her, either for his papers or her goods. That he had two ships well-manned at her service, and would conduct her safe by sea to some part of the Persian empire, from whence she might get into her own country. She consented at last, having seen how gallantly my master had behaved in her defence. So she came a board with her attendants and her effects, in order to be transported into her own country. Our captain, you may be sure, was in no haste to carry her home, being fallen most desperately in love with her: so that instead of carrying her to any of the Persian dominions, he directed his course for Algiers, hearing his father was dead; but meeting with you, it has made him alter his measures for the present.—He has tried all ways to gain her love, but she would not give him the least encouragement, till this late accident, by which she saved your life.

When he had ended his relation, I reflected on it a good while, and considering the nature of those pirates, I thought I saw a piece of treachery in the affair, much more black than what he described; and could not forbear compassionating the poor lady, both for her disaster, and the company she was fallen into. However, I kept my thoughts to myself. Not long after, we arrived at Alexandria, (6) where the pirate sold all our effects, that is, the merchandize he had taken aboard our ship, except some particular things that belonged to my brother and myself, as books, papers, maps and sea charts, pictures, and the like. He determined to carry me

to Grand Cairo, the first opportunity, to sell me, or even give me away, to a strange merchant he had an acquaintance with, where I should never be heard of more.

Remarks of Signor Rhedi.

This is an odd adventure enough; but the circumstances are pretty well connected together. There happen very strange accidents among those lawless Eastern people and the wild Arabs, who observe no rules but what the lions and tigers, could they speak, would make for their own preservation.—I fear there are some who profess themselves christians would do the same.

(1) The Curdi, or people of Curdistan, are a warlike nation, paying a small tribute to the Persians, and sometimes to the Turks; their very women are martial, and handle the sword and pike. The country runs from the Aliduli, a mountainous people, made tributary to the Turks by *Selim I.* father of *Soliman* the magnificent, and reacheth as far as Armenia.

(2) Alexandria is a sea port at the further end of the Mediterranean, belonging to the Turks, but much frequented by Arabian merchants, both by land and sea. One point of Curdistan is not far from this port.

(3) This insurrection he speaks of, might be the seeds, or the first plotting, of the grand rebellion of Merowits, which began about the date of this account, and caused such a terrible revolution in the Persian empire, which no one, who understands any thing, can be ignorant of.

(4) The Arabian horses are the best in the world, tho' not very large. The horsemen are very dexterous according to the Eastern way of fighting; on which account, one can't wonder if the king of Persia and his rebellious subjects made it their interest to procure as many auxiliaries as they could. It is very likely, the little parties would always be on watch, to surprise one another when they could find an opportunity. And this petty Curdian prince being zealous for the service of his king, might be taken off by the rebels that way.

(5) Alexandria is a great sea port of Egypt under the Turks.

(6) Grand Cairo is the place of residence of the great basha of Egypt, higher up the country on the river Nile.

Continuation

Continuation of the Memoirs.

NOTHING remarkable happened during our stay at Alexandria. They told me the captain had been in an extraordinary good humour ever since the lady's promise to marry him. But she, to be sure he should not deceive her in doing me any injury when I was out of the ship, ordered her officer to attend me wherever I was carried, till I was put in safe hands, and entirely out of the pirate's power. When we were arrived at Grand Cairo, I was carried to the place where the merchants meet to exchange their commodities: there were persons of almost all the Eastern and Indian nations. The lady's officer, according to his mistress's order, never stirred an inch from me, to witness the performance of articles. At length, the pirate and a strange merchant spied one another, almost at the instant, and advancing the same way, saluted each other in the Turkish language, which I understood tolerably well. After some mutual compliments, the pirate told him he had met with such a person as he had promised to procure for him two years before, meaning myself, only I was not an eunuch, but that it was in his power to make me so if he pleased. Your reverences cannot doubt but I was a little startled at such a speech; and was going to reply, that I would lose my life a thousand times before I would suffer such an injury. But the lady's officer turned to the pirate, and said, he had engaged to his lady I should receive no harm; and that he must never expect to obtain her for his wife, if she had the least suspicion of such a thing. But the merchant soon put us out

of doubt, by assuring us, that it was against their laws to do such an injury to any one of their own species; but if it were done before, they could not help it: then turning to me, he said, in very good *Lingua Franca*, "young man, if I buy you, I shall soon convince you, you need not apprehend any such usage from me." He eyed me from top to toe, with the most penetrating look I ever saw in my life; yet seemed pleased at the same time. He was very richly clad, attended with three young men in the same kind of dress, tho' not rich, who seemed rather sons than servants. His age did not appear to me to be above forty, yet had the most serene and most venerable look imaginable: his complexion was rather browner than that of the Egyptians, but it seemed to be more the effect of travelling than natural. In short, he had an air so uncommon that I was amazed, and began to have as great an opinion of him as he seemed to have of me. He asked the pirate what he must give for me? He told him, I had cost him very dear; and with that recounted to him all the circumstances of the fight, wherein I was taken; and to give him his due, represented it no ways to my disadvantage. However, those were not the qualifications the merchant desired: what he wanted was a person who was a scholar, and could give him an account of the arts and sciences, laws, customs, &c. of the christians. This the pirate assured him I could do; that I was an European christian, and a scholar, as he guessed by my books and writings; that I understood navigation, geography, astronomy, and several other sciences. I was out of countenance to hear him talk so; for tho' I had as much knowledge of those sciences as could be expected from one of my years, yet my age would not permit me to be master of them, but only to have the first principles, by which I might improve myself afterwards.

SECRETARY.—

SECRETARY.—The inquisitors demurred a little at this, fearing he might be addicted to judicial astrology; but considering he had philosophy, and was designed for the sea, he was obliged to have some knowledge in those sciences.

The pirate told him, I had some skill in music and painting, having seen some instruments and books of those arts among my effects, and asked me if it were not so? I told him, young gentlemen of liberal education in our country, wholly learnt those arts, and that I had a competent knowledge that way. This made the merchant resolve to buy me. When they came to the price, the pirate demanded forty ounces of native gold, and three of those silk carpets he saw there with him, to make a present to the grand signor. The merchant agreed with him at the first word; only demanded all the books, globes, mathematical instruments, and, in fine, whatever remained of my effects into the bargain. The pirate agreed to this, as easily as the other did to the price; so, upon performance of articles on both sides, I was delivered up to him.

As soon as I was put into his power, he embraced me with a great deal of tenderness, saying, I should not repent my change of life: his attendants came up to me and embraced me in the same manner, calling me brother, and expressed a great deal of joy for having me of their company. The merchant bid them take me down to the *canvanfera*, or inn, that I might refresh myself, and change my habit to the same as they wore. I was very much surprised at such unexpected civilities from strangers. But, before I went, I turned to the pirate, and said to him with an air that made the merchant put on a very thoughtful look, that I thanked him for keeping his promise in saving my life; but added, that tho' the fortune of war had put it in his power to sell me like a beast in the market, it might be in mine some
time

time or other to render the like kindness. Then I turned to the lady's officer, who had been my guardian so faithfully, and embracing him with all imaginable tenderness, I begged him to pay my best respects to my fair deliverer; assuring her, that I should esteem it the greatest happiness to be able one day to make a return for so unparalleled a favour, tho' it were at the expense of that life she had so generously saved: so we parted; the pirate grumbling a little within himself, and I in amazing suspense to know what was likely to become of me.

As they were conducting me to the canvanera, where they lodged, I was full of this sorrowful reflection, that I was a slave still, tho' I had changed my master; but my companions, who were some of the handsomest young men I ever saw in my life, comforted me with the most endearing words, telling me, that I need fear nothing; that I should esteem myself one of the happiest men in the world when they were arrived safe in their own country, which they hoped would not be long; that I should be as free as they were, and follow what employment of life my inclinations led me to, without any restraint whatsoever: in fine, their discourse filled me with fresh amazement, and gave me at the same time a sort of juvenile desire to see the event. I saw they did not keep any strict guard on me, that I verily believed I could easily have given them the slip; and might have gotten some Armenian christian to conceal me, till I could find an opportunity of returning into my own country: but having lost all my effects, I thought I could scarce be in a worse condition, and was resolved to run all hazards.

When I came to the house, I was struck with wonder at the magnificence of it, especially at the richness of the furniture: the house was one of the best in all Grand Cairo, tho' built low according to the custom of the country. It seems they always
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staid a year before they returned into their own country, and spared no cost to make their banishment, as they called it, as easy as they could. I was entertained with all the rarities of Egypt, the most delicious fruits, and the richest Greek and Asiatick wines that could be tasted; by which I saw they were not mahometans. Not knowing what to make of them, I asked them who they were, of what country, what sect and profession? They smiled at my questions, and told me *they were children of the sun*, and were called *Mexoranians*; which was as unintelligible to me as all the rest: but, for their country, they told me I should see it in a few months, and bid me ask no further questions. Presently my master came in, and embracing me, once more bid me welcome, with such an engaging affability, as took away almost all my fears: but what followed, filled me with the utmost surprise. "Young man," said he "by the laws of this country you are mine; I have bought you at a very high price, and would give twice as much for you if it were to be done again:—but," continued he, with a more serious air, "I know no just laws in the universe that can make a free-born man become a slave to one of his own species. If you will voluntarily go along with us, you shall enjoy as much freedom as I do myself; you shall be exempt from all the barbarous laws of those inhuman countries, whose brutal customs are a shame to the dignity of a rational creature, and with whom we have no commerce, but to enquire after arts and sciences, which may contribute to the common benefit of our people. We are blest with the most opulent country in the world; we leave it to your choice to go along with us if you please; if you will not, I here give you your liberty, and restore to you all that remains of your effects, with what assistance you want to carry you back again into your own country:—only, this I must tell

tell you, if you go with us, 'tis likely you will never come back again, or, perhaps, desire it." Here he stopped, and observed my countenance with a great deal of attention. I was struck with such admiration of his generosity, together with the sentiments of joy for my unexpected liberty, and gratitude to my benefactor, coming into my mind all at once, that I had as much difficulty to believe what I heard, as your reverences may now have at the relation of it, till the sequel informs you of the reasons for such unheard of proceedings. On the one hand, the natural desire of liberty prompted me to accept my freedom; on the other, I considered my shattered fortune; that I was left in a strange country so far from home, among turks and infidels; the ardour of youth excited me to push my fortune. The account of so glorious, tho' unknown, a country, stirred up my curiosity: I saw gold was the least part of the riches of these people, who appeared to me the most civilized I ever saw in my life; but above all, the sense of what I owed to so noble a benefactor, who I saw desired it, and had me as much in his power now, as he could have afterwards. These considerations made me as good as resolved to go along with him. I had continued longer thus irresolute, and fluctuating between so many different thoughts, if he had not brought me to myself, by saying, "what say you, young man, to my proposal? I started out of my reveries, as if I had awaked from a real dream; and making a most profound reverence, "my lord," said I "or rather my father and deliverer, I am yours by all the ties of gratitude a human heart is capable of; I resign myself to your conduct, and will follow you to the end of the world" This I said with such emotion of spirit, that I believe he saw into my very soul; for embracing me once more with a most inexpressible tenderness, "I
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adopt you" said he "for my son; and these are your brothers," pointing to his two young companions; "all I require of you is, that you live as such."

Here, reverend fathers, I must confess one of the greatest faults I ever did in my life; I never considered whether these men were christians or heathens: I engaged myself with a people, where I could never have the exercise of my religion, altho' I always preserved it in my heart. But what could be expected from a daring young man, just in the heat of his youth, who had lost all his fortune, and had such a glorious prospect offered him for retrieving it?

Soon after this, he gave orders to his attendants to withdraw, as if he had a mind to say something to me in private; they obeyed immediately with a filial respect as if they had indeed been his sons, but they were not; I only mention it to shew the nature of the people I was engaged with: then taking me by the hand he made me sit down by him, and asked me if it were really true, as the pirate informed him, that I was an European christian? tho', said he, be what you will, I don't repent my buying of you: I told him I was, and in that belief would live and die. "So you may," said he, seeming pleased at my answer: "but I have not yet met with any of that part of the world who seemed to have the dispositions of mind I think I see in you," looking at the lineaments of my face with a great deal of earnestness: "I have been informed," continued he "that your laws are not like these barbarous turks, whose government is made up of tyranny and brutality, governing all by fear and force, and making slaves of all who fall under their power; whereas, the European christians, as I am told, are governed by a divine law, that teaches them to do good to all, injury to none; particularly, not to kill
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and destroy their own species; nor to steal, cheat, over reach, or defraud any one of their just due; but to do in all things just as they would be done by; looking on all men as common brothers of the same stock, and behaving with justice and equity in all their actions public and private, as if they were to give an account to the universal Lord and Father of all." I told him our law did really teach and command us to do so, but that very few lived up to this law;—that we were obliged to have recourse to coercive laws and penalties, to enforce what we acknowledged otherwise to be a duty: that, if it were not for the fear of such punishment, the greatest part of them would be worse than the very turks he mentioned.—He seemed strangely surprised at this.—"What," says he "can any one do in private, what his own reason and solemn profession condemns?"—then addressing himself to me in a more particular manner, "do you profess this just and holy law you mentioned? I told him I did: "then," says he "do but live up to your own law and we require no more of you." (1) Here he made a little noise with his staff, at which two of his attendants came in: he asked them if my effects were come from the pirates? Being answered they were, he ordered them to be brought in, and examined them very nicely. There were among them some pictures of my own drawing, a repeating watch, two compass boxes, one of them very curiously wrought in ivory and gold, which had been my great grand father's, given him by *Venerio*; a set of mathematical instruments, draughts of statuary and architecture, by the best masters, with all which he seemed extremely pleased. After he had examined them with a great deal of admiration, he ordered one of his attendants to reach him a cabinet, full of gold; he opened it to me, and said, "young man, I not only restore you all your effects here present, having no right to any thing

thing that belongs to another man, but once more offer you your liberty, and as much of this gold as you think sufficient to carry you home, and make you live easy all your life." I was a little out of countenance, thinking what I said of the ill morals of the christians, had made him afraid to take me along with him : I told him, I valued nothing now so much as his company, and begged him not only to let me go along with him, but that he would be pleased to accept whatever he saw of mine there before him ; adding, that I esteemed it the greatest happiness to be able to make some small recompense for the obligations I owed him. " I do accept of it" says he, " and take you solemnly into my care : go along with those young men, and enjoy your liberty in effect, which I have hitherto only given you in words." Here some of his elder companions came in, as if they were to consult about business ; the young men and myself went to walk the town for our diversion.

Your reverences may be sure, I observed all the actions of these new people, with the greatest attention my age was capable of. They seemed not only to have a horror of the barbarous manners and vices of the turks, but even a contempt of all the pleasures and diversions of the country. Their whole business was to inform themselves of what they thought might be an improvement in their own country, particularly in arts and trades, and whatever curiosities were brought from foreign parts ; setting down their observations of every thing of moment. They had masters of the country at set hours to teach them the Turkish and Persian languages, in which I endeavoured to perfect myself along with them. Tho' they seemed to be the most moral men in the world, I could observe no signs of religion in them, till a certain occasion that happened to us in our voyage, of which I shall speak to

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your reverences in its proper place. This was the only point they were shy in; they gave me the reasons for it afterwards; but their behaviour the most candid and sincere in other matters that can be imagined.

We lived thus in the most perfect union all the time we staid at Grand Cairo; and I enjoyed the same liberty that I could have had if I had been in Italy. All I remarked in them was an uneasiness they expressed to be so long out of their own country; but they comforted themselves with the thought it would not be long.

I can't omit one observation I made of these young men's conduct while we staid in Egypt;—they were all about my own age, strong and vigorous, and the handsomest race of people, perhaps, the world ever produced. We were in the most voluptuous and lewd town in the whole Eastern empire; the young women seemed ready to devour us as we went along the streets; yet I never saw the least inclination to any thing of that nature. I imputed it at first to the apprehension of my being in their company, and a stranger; but I soon found they acted by principle. As young men are apt to encourage, or rather to corrupt, one another, I own I could not forbear expressing my wonder at it: they seemed surprised at the thought; but the reasons they gave were as much out of our common way of thinking, as their behaviour. The told me, for the first reason, that all the women they saw were either married or particular men's daughters, or common. For married women, they said, it was such a heinous piece of injustice to violate the marriage-bed, that every man living would look upon it as the greatest injury done to himself: how could they therefore in reason do it to another? If they were daughters of particular men, bred up with so much care and solicitude of their parents, what a terrible affliction must it be to them;

them; or to ourselves, to see our daughters or sisters violated and corrupted, after all our care to the contrary; and this too, perhaps, by those we had cherished in our own bosoms? If common strumpets, what rational man could look on them otherwise than brute beasts, to abandon themselves to every stranger for hire? besides, their prostitute lewdness generally defeats the great design of nature to propagate the species; or by their impure embraces, such disorders may be contracted, as to make us hereafter at best, but fathers of a weak and sickly offspring. And if we should have children by them, what would become of our fathers grand-children? But what man who had the least sense of the dignity of his own birth, would stain his race, and give birth to such a wretched breed, and then leave them exposed to want and infamy?—This they said chiefly with reverence to the vast ideas they had of their own nation, valuing themselves above all other people. Tho' the consideration holds good with all men, I own, I was mute at these reasons, and could not say but they were very just, tho' the warmth of my youth had hindered me from reflecting on them before. These reflections appeared so extraordinary in young men, and even heathens, that I shall never forget them.

Some time after, I found by their diligence in settling their affairs, and the cheerfulness of their countenance, that they had thoughts of departing from Egypt; they seemed to wait for nothing but orders from their governor. In the mean time there happened an accident to me, which is scarce fit for your reverences to hear; nor should I ever have thought to relate it to you, only you laid your commands on me to give an exact account of my whole life: besides, that it is interwoven with some of the chief occurrences of my life in the latter part of it.

Our governor, whom they called pophar, which

in their language signifies father of his people, and by which name I shall always call him hereafter, looking at his *ephemeris*, which he did very frequently, found, by computation, that he had some time left to stay in the country, and resolved to go down once more to Alexandria, to see if he could meet with any more European curiosities, which are brought by merchants ships coming in perpetually at that season into the port. He took only two of the young men and me along with him, to shew me, as he said, that I was entirely at my liberty, since I might easily find some ship or other to carry me into my own country. On the other hand, to convince him of the sincerity of my intentions, I generally kept in his company. (2) The affair I am going to speak of, soon gave him full proof of the sincerity.

While we were walking in the the public places to view the several goods and curiosities, that were brought from different parts of the world, it happened that the bassa of Grand Cairo, with all his family, was come to Alexandria on the same account as well as to buy some young female slaves. His wife and daughter were then both along with him: the wife was one of the grand signor's sisters, seemingly about thirty, and a wonderfully fine woman. The daughter was about sixteen, of such exquisite beauty and lovely features, as were sufficient to charm the greatest prince in the world.*

When we perceived them, the pophar, who naturally abhorred the turks, kept off, as if he were treating privately with some merchants. But I, being young and inconsiderate, stood gazing, tho' at a respectful

* The bassa of Grand Cairo is one of the greatest posts in the Turkish empire, and the most independent of any subject in Turkey. It is customary for the sultans to give their daughters in marriage to such persons; who are often disliked by the husbands on account of their imperious behaviour.

respectful distance, at the bassa's beautiful daughter, from no other motive but mere curiosity. She had her eyes fixed on my companions and myself at the same time, and, as I supposed, on the same account. Her dress was so magnificent, and her person so charming, that I thought her the most beautiful creature I had ever seen in my life. If I could have foreseen the troubles that short interview was going to cost both the pophar and myself, I should have chose to have looked on the most hideous monster. I observed that the young lady, with a particular sort of emotion, whispered something to an elderly woman that attended her, and she did the same to a page, who immediately went to two natives of the place, whom the pophar used to hire to carry his things: this was to enquire of them who we were. They, as appeared by the event, told them, I was a young slave lately bought by the pophar. After a while, the bassa, with his train, went away, and for my own part I thought no more of the matter.

The next day as the pophar and we were walking in one of the public gardens, a little elderly man like an eunuch, with a most beautiful youth along with him, having dogged us to a private part of the walks, came up to us, and addressing themselves to the pophar, asked him, what he would take for his young slave, pointing at me, because the bassa desired to buy him. The pophar seemed to be more surprised at this unexpected question, than I ever observed him at any thing before, which confirmed me more and more in the opinion of the kindness he had for me. But soon coming to himself, as he was a man of great presence of mind, he said, very sedately, that I was no slave, nor a person to be sold for any price, since I was as free as he was. They taking this for a pretext to enhance the price, produced some oriental pearls, with other jewels of immense value, and bid him name what he would have,

and it should be paid immediately; adding, I was to be the companion of the bassa's son, where I might make my fortune for ever, if I would go along with them. The pophar persisted in the same answer, and said he had no power over me: they insisted I had been bought as a slave, but some time ago, in the grand signor's dominions, and they would have me. Here I interposed, and answered briskly, that tho' I had been taken prisoner by the chance of war, I was no slave, nor would I part with my liberty but at the price of my life. The bassa's son, for so he now declared himself to be, instead of being angry at my resolute answer, replied with a most agreeable smile, that I should be as free as he was, making the most solemn protestations by his holy alcoran, that our lives and deaths should be inseparable. Tho' there was something in his words the most persuasive I ever felt within myself, yet, considering the obligations I had to the pophar, I was resolved not to go, but answered with a most respectful bow, that tho' I was free by nature, I had indispensable obligations not to go with him, and hoped he would take it for a determined answer. I pronounced this with such a resolute air, as made him see there were no hopes. Whether his desire was more enflamed by my denial, or whether they took us for persons of greater note than we appeared to be, I can't tell; but, I observed, he put on a very languishing air, with tears stealing down his cheeks, which moved me to a degree I can't express. I was scarce capable of speaking, but cast down my eyes, and stood as immoveable as a statue. This seemed to revive his hopes; he recovered himself a little, and with a trembling voice, replied, suppose it be the bassa's daughter you saw yesterday that desires to have you for her attendant, what do you say? I started at this, and casting my eyes on him more attentively, I saw his swimming in tears, with a tenderness
enough

enough to pierce the hardest heart. I looked at the pophar, who I saw was trembling for me, and feared it was the daughter herself that asked me the question. I was soon put out of doubt, for she finding she had gone too far to go back, discovered herself, and said, I must go along with her, or one of us must die. I hope your reverences will excuse this account I give of myself, which nothing should have drawn from me, tho' it is literally true, but your express commands to tell the whole history of my life. The perplexity I was in can't be imagined; I considered she was a turk and I a christian; that my death must certainly be the consequence of such a rash affair, were I to engage in it. That whether she concealed me in her father's court, or attempted to go off with me, it was ten thousand to one we should both be sacrificed: neither could the violence of such a sudden passion ever be concealed from the bassa's spies.

In a word, I was resolved not to go; but how to get off was the difficulty. I saw the most beautiful creature in the world all in tears before me, after a declaration of love, that exceeded the most romantic tales; youth, love and beauty, and even an inclination on my side, pleaded her cause. But at length the consideration of the endless miseries I was likely to draw on the young lady, should I comply with what she desired, prevailed above all others. I was resolved to refuse, for her sake more than my own, and was just going to tell her so on my knees, with all the arguments my reason could suggest to appease her, when an attendant came running in haste to the other person, who was also a woman, and told her, the bassa was coming that way. She was roused out of her lethargy at this: the other woman, without any demur, snatched her away, as the pophar did me: she just cried out with a threat, think better on it, or die; so we were immediately out of sight of one another.

I was

I was no sooner out of her sight, but I found a thousand reasons for what I did, more I could think of before, when that enchanting object was before my eyes. I saw the madness of that passion which forced the most charming person of the Ottoman empire, capable by her beauty to conquer the grand signor himself, to make a declaration of love, so contrary to the nature and modesty of her sex, as well as her quality and dignity, and ready to sacrifice her reputation, the duty she owed her parents, her liberty, perhaps her life, and all for an unknown person, who had been a slave but some time before. I saw on the other hand, that had I complied with the fair charmer's proposal, I must have run the risk of losing my religion or life, or rather both; with a dreadful chain of hidden misfortunes, which were likely to accompany such a rash adventure.— While I was taken up with these reflections, the wise pophar, after having thought a little upon what had happened, told me, this unfortunate affair would not end so, but that it might cost both of us our lives, and something else that was more dear to him. He feared so violent a passion would draw on other extremes; especially considering the wickedness of the people, and brutal tyranny of their government. However, he was resolved not to give me up but with his life, if I would but stand to myself; adding, that we must make off as fast as we could; that having so many spies upon us, we must use policy as well as expedition. So he went down directly to the port, and in the hearing of all, publicly hired a ship to go for Cyprus, paid the whole freight on the spot, and said they must necessarily go off that evening. We had really done so, but our companions and effects obliged us to return to Grand Cairo; but instead of going by sea, he called the master of the vessel, who was of his acquaintance, and for a good round sum, privately agreed with him.

him to sail out of the port without us, as if we were really gone with him, while he hired a boat at the other end of the town, and went that night directly for Grand Cairo. As soon as we were arrived there, we enquired how long the bassa would be before he returned to that city. They told us it would be about a fortnight at soonest; this gave the pophar time to pay off his house, pack up his effects, get all things ready for his great voyage; but still with greater apprehension in his looks than ever I remarked in him. However, he told us, he hoped the affair would end well.

In five days time all things were in readiness for our departure. We set out a little before sun-set, as is customary in those countries, and marched on but a slow pace whilst we were near the town, to avoid any suspicion of flight. After we had travelled thus about a league up by the side of the river Nile, the pophar leading the van, and the rest following in a pretty long string after him, we met five or six men coming down the river side on horseback, who by their fine turbans and habits, shewed they were pages or attendants of some great person. The pophar turned off from the river, as if it were to give them way: they passed on very civilly without taking any further notice. I was the hindmost but one of our train, having staid to give our dromedaries some water. Soon after these came two ladies riding on little Arabian jennets, with prodigious rich furniture, by which I guessed them to be persons of quality, and others gone before their attendants. They were not quite over against where I was, when the younger of the two ladies jennet began to snort and start at our dromedaries, and became so unruly, that I apprehended the lady could scarce sit him. At that instant, one of the led dromedaries coming pretty near, that, and the rustling of its loading, so frightened the jennet, that he gave a bound all on a sudden,
and

and being on the inside of us towards the river, he ran full speed towards the edge of the bank, where not being able to stop his career, he flew directly off the precipice into the river, with the lady still sitting him; but the violence of the leap threw her off two or three yards into the water. It happened very luckily that there was a little island just by where she fell, and her clothes keeping her up for some minutes, the stream carried her against some stakes that stood just above the water; the stakes caught hold of her clothes, and held her there:—the shrieks of the other lady brought the nighest attendants up to us; but those fearful wretches durst not venture into the river to her assistance. I jumped off my dromedary with indignation, and throwing off my loose garment and sandals, swam to her, and, with much difficulty, getting hold of her hand, and loosing her garments from the stakes, I made a shift to draw her across the stream, till I brought her to land. She was quite senseless for some time; I held down her head, which I had not yet looked at, to make her disgorge the water she had swallowed; but I was soon struck with a double surprise, when I looked at her face, to find it was the *bassa's* daughter, and to see her in that place, whom I thought I had left at Alexandria.

Some time after she came to herself, and looking fixed on me a good while, her senses not being entirely recovered, at last she cried out, “O *Mahomet*, must I owe my life to this man!” and fainted away. The other lady, who was her confidant, with a great deal of pains brought her to herself again: we raised her up, and endeavoured to comfort her as well as we could: “No,” says she, “throw me into the river once more; let me not be obliged to a barbarian for whom I have done too much already.” I told her in the most respectful terms I could think of, that providence had ordered it so, that I might
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make some recompense for the undeserved obligations she had laid on me; that I had too great value for her merit ever to make her miserable, by loving a slave, such as I was, a stranger, a christian, and who had indispensable obligations to act as I did. She started a little at what I said; but after a short recollection answered, "whether you are a slave, an infidel, or whatever you please, you are one of the most generous men in the world. I suppose your obligations are on account of some more happy woman than myself; but since I owe my life to you, I am resolved not to make you unhappy, any more than you do me. I not only pardon you, but am convinced my pretensions are both unjust and against my own honour." She said this with an air becoming her quality: she was much more at ease when I assured her I was engaged to no woman in the world; but that her memory should be ever dear to me, and imprinted in my heart till my last breath. Here ten or a dozen armed turks came upon us full speed from the town, and seeing the pophar and his companions, they cried out, "stop villains, we arrest you in the name of the bassa." At this we started up to see what was the matter, when the lady, who knew them, bid me not be afraid; that these were men she had ordered to pursue me, when she left Alexandria: that hearing we were fled off by sea, she pretended sickness, and asked leave of her father to return to Cairo, there to bemoan her misfortune with her confidant; and was in those melancholy sentiments when the late accident happened to her: that she supposed these men had discovered the trick we had played them in not going by sea, and on better information had pursued us this way; so she dismissed them immediately. I was all this while in one of the greatest agonies that can be expressed, both for fear of my own resolutions and her; so I begged her to retire, lest her wet clothes should endanger her

her health. I should not have been able to pronounce these words if the pophar had not cast a look at me which pierced me thro', and made me see the danger I was in by my delay. Her resolutions now seemed to be stronger than mine. She pulled off this jewel your reverences see on my finger, and just said, with tears trickling down her beautiful cheeks, "take this, and adieu!" She then pulled her companion away, and never looked at me more. I stood amazed, almost without life or motion in me, and can't tell how long I might have continued so, if the popar had not come and congratulated me for my deliverance. I told him, I did not know what he meant by deliverance, for I did not know whether I was alive or dead, and that I was afraid he would repent his buying of me, if I procured him any more of these adventures. "If we meet with no worse than these," says he, "we are well enough; no victory can be gained without some loss." So he awaked me out of my lethargy, and commanded us to make the best of our way.

Remarks of Signor Rhedi.

(1) *Live up to your own law, &c.*] If it appears incredible to any one, that heathens, as these people were, should have such strict ideas of morality and justice, when they see such horrid injustices; frauds and oppressions among christians, let them consider first, that the law and light of nature will never be entirely extinguished in any who don't shut their eyes against it; but that they would esteem the injuries they do to others, without any scruple, to be very great hardships if done to themselves. They have therefore the ideas of justice and equity imprinted in their minds, however obscured by their wicked lives. Secondly, let them read the celebrated bishop of Meaux's universal history, Pt. 3, of the morals and equity of the antient Egyptians, under their great king *Sesostris*, or about that time. Thirdly, not only the lives and maxims of the first heathen philosophers afford us very just rules of morality, but there are also fragments of antient history, from the earliest times, of whole heathen nations, whose lives would make christians blush at their own immoralities, if they

that should defame by groundless reports the holy office of the inquisition. The governor answered, he would be willing to assist his grace in any thing he could; but as to the young women, it was not in his power, the officers having hurried them away; as indeed it was not, for the French officers were all glad to get such fine mistresses.

As I travelled in France some time after, I met with one of those women at Rochfort, in the same inn I went to lodge in, who had been brought there by the son of the master of the inn, formerly a lieutenant in the French service in Spain, who had married her for her extraordinary merit and beauty. She was the daughter of counsellor *Balabriga*: I had known her before she was taken up by the inquisitors orders; her father died of grief, without the comfort of revealing the cause of his trouble, even to his confessor: so great is the dread of the inquisitors there!

I was very glad to meet one of my country-women in my travels; and as she did not remember me, especially in my disguise, she took me for an officer. I resolved to stay there the next day, to have the satisfaction of conversing with her, and to get a plain account of what we could not know in Zaragosa, for fear of incurring the ecclesiastical censure, published by the bishop. Her father and mother-in-law, to shew their respect for their daughter's country-man, (Mr. *Faulcaut* her spouse being gone to Paris) invited me to a handsome supper; after which I begged the favour of her to tell me the reason of her imprisonment; of her sufferings in the inquisition, and of every thing she knew relating to the holy office; to which she readily consented, and gave me the following account:

I went one day with my mother to visit the counsellors of Attarass, and I met there *Don Francisco Torrejón*, her confessor, and second inquisitor of the

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holy office. After we had drank chocolate, he asked me my age, my confessor's name, and so many intricate questions about religion, that I could not answer him. His serious countenance did frighten me, and as he perceived my fear, he desired the coun- tesses to tell me, that he was not so severe as I took him to be; after which he carested me in a most obliging manner; he gave me his hand, which I kissed with great respect and modesty; and when going away, he told me, "My dear child, I shall remember you till the next time." I did not mind the sense of the words, for I was unexperienced in matters of gallantry, being at that time but fifteen years old. Indeed he did remember me; for the very same night, when we were in bed, hearing a hard knocking at the door, the maid that lay in the same room with me, went to the window and asking who was there, I heard say—the holy inquisition. I could not forbear crying out, father, father, I am ruined for ever. My dear father got up, and in- quiring what the matter was, I answered him with tears, the inquisition; he, for fear that the maid should not open the door as quick as such a case re- quired, went himself like another *Abraham* to open the door, and to offer his dear daughter to the fire of the inquisitors; and as I did not cease to cry out, as if I was a mad girl, my dear father all in tears, did put in my mouth a bit of a bridle, to shew his obedience to the holy office, for he thought I had committed some crime against religion; so the of- ficers giving me only time to put on my petticoat and a mantle, took me down into the coach, and without allowing me the satisfaction of embracing my dear father and mother, they carried me into the inquisition.

I did expect to die that night; but when they carried me into a noble room, well furnished, I was quite surpris'd. The officers left me there, and im- mediately

mediately a maid came in, with a salver of sweet-meats, and cinnamon water, desiring me to take some refreshment before I went to bed. I told her I could not; but that I should be obliged to her, if she could tell me whether I was to die that night or not? "Die!" said she "you do not come here to die, but to live like a princess, and you shall want for nothing in the world, but the liberty of going out; so pray be not afraid, but go to bed and sleep easy, for to-morrow you shall see wonders in this house; and as I am chosen to be your waiting-maid, I hope you will be very kind to me." I was going to ask some questions, but she told me, she had not leave to tell me any thing more till the next day, only that no body should come to disturb me; "and now" said she "I am going about some business, but I will come back presently, for my bed is in the closet near yours," so she left me for a quarter of an hour. The great amazement I was in took away the free exercise of my senses to such a degree, that I had not power to think either of my afflicted parents, or the danger I was in. In this suspension of thought, the maid returned, and locked the chamber door after her; "Madam" said she "let us go to bed, and be pleased to tell me at what time in the morning you will have the chocolate ready." I asked her name, and she told me it was *Mary*. *Mary*, for God's sake (said I) tell me, whether I come to die or not? "I have told you madam" replied she "that you are come to be one of the happiest ladies in the world;" so observing her reservedness, I asked no more questions that night, but went to bed. The fear of death prevented me from shutting my eyes, so that I rose at break of day; *Mary* lay till six o'clock, and was surprised to find me up; however she said little, but in half an hour she brought me, on a silver plate, two cups of chocolate and biscuits; I drank one cup,

and desired her to drink the other, which she did. Well, *Mary*, said I, can you give me any account of the reasons of my being here? "Not yet, madam" said she, "have a little patience." With this answer she left me, and an hour after came again with a fine Holland shift, a Holland under-petticoat, finely laced round, two silk petticoats, and a little Spanish waistcoat, fringed all over with gold, and combs, ribbands, and every thing suitable to a lady of higher quality than I; but my greatest surprise was to see a gold snuff box, with the picture of *Don Francisco Torrejon* in it. Then I soon understood the meaning of my confinement; so I considered with myself, that to refuse the present would be the occasion of my immediate death; and to accept it, was to give him too great encouragement against my honor. But I found, as I thought, a medium in the case; so I said to *Mary*, pray give my service to *Don Francisco Torrejon*, and tell him, that as I could not bring my clothes along with me last night, honesty permits me to accept of those clothes which are necessary to keep me decent; but since I take no snuff, I beg his lordship to excuse me if I do not accept this box. *Mary* went to him with this answer, and came again with a picture, nicely set in gold, with four diamonds at the four corners of it, and told me, that his lordship had mistook, and that he desired me to accept that picture. While I was musing what to do, *Mary* said, "pray madam take my poor advice, accept the picture and every thing he sends you; for consider, that if you do not comply with every thing he has a mind for, you will soon be put to death, and no body can defend you; but if you are obliging to him, he is a very complaisant gentleman, and will be a charming lover, and you will be here like a queen: he will give you another apartment with fine gardens, and many young ladies shall come to visit

"visit you; so I advise you to send a civil answer,
 "and desire a visit from him, or else you will soon
 "repent it." O dear God! cried I, must I abandon
 my honor without remedy; if I oppose his desire,
 he will by force obtain it. So, full of confusion,
 I bid *Mary* to give him what answer she thought
 fit: she was very glad of my humble submission,
 and went to give *Don Francisco* an account of it.
 In a few minutes she returned with great joy,
 to tell me that his lordship would honor me with
 his company at supper; in the mean time he desired
 me to mind nothing, but how to divert myself,
 and to give *Mary* my measure for some new
 clothes, and order her to bring me every thing I
 could wish for. *Mary* added to this, "madam, I
 "may now call you my mistress, and must tell you,
 "that I have been in the holy office these fourteen
 "years, and know the customs of it very well; but
 "as silence is imposed upon me under pain of death,
 "I cannot tell you any thing but what concerns
 "your person: so in the first place, do not oppose
 "the holy father's will; secondly, if you see some
 "young ladies here, never ask them any questions;
 "neither will they ask you; and take care that you
 "never tell them any thing. You may come and
 "divert yourself among them at such hours as are
 "appointed; you shall have music, and all sorts
 "of recreations; three days hence you shall dine
 "with them; they are all ladies of quality, young
 "and merry. You will live so happy here, that
 "you will not wish to go abroad; and when your
 "time is expired, then the holy fathers will send
 "you out of this country, and marry you to some
 "nobleman. Never mention your name, nor *Don*
Francisco's to any; if you see here some young
 "ladies you have formerly been acquainted with,
 "no notice must be taken, nor nothing talked of
 "but indifferent matters."

All this made me astonished, or rather stupified, and the whole seemed to me a piece of enchantment. With this lesson she left me, saying, she was going to order my dinner. Every time she went out she locked the door. There were but two windows in my room, and they were so high that I could see nothing through them; but hunting about, I found a closet, with all sorts of historical and profane books; so I spent my time till dinner in reading, which was some satisfaction to me.

In about two hours time she brought in dinner, at which was every thing that could satisfy the nicest appetite. When dinner was over, she left me alone, and told me, if I wanted any thing I might ring the bell, and call. So I went to the closet again, and spent three hours in reading. I think really I was under some enchantment; for I was in a perfect suspension of thought, so as to remember neither father or mother. *Mary* came and told me, that *Don Francisco* was come home, and that she thought he would come to see me very soon, and begged of me to prepare myself to receive him with all manner of kindness.

At seven in the evening *Don Francisco* came, in his night-gown and cap; not with the gravity of an inquisitor, but with the gaiety of an officer. He saluted me with great respect, and told me at the same time, that his coming to see me, was only to shew the value he had for my family, and to tell me, that some of my lovers had procured my ruin forever, having accused me in matters of religion; that the informations were taken, and the sentence pronounced against me—to be burnt alive in a dry pan, with a gradual fire,—but that he, out of pity, and love to my family, had stopped the execution of it. Each of these words was a mortal stroke to my heart. I threw myself at his feet, and said, Ah! *Seignior*, have you stopped the execution for ever? "That
"only

"only belongs to you to stop it or not," said he, and with this he wished me a good night. As soon as he went away, I fell a crying, but *Mary* came and asked me what could oblige me to cry so bitterly. Ah! good *Mary*, said I, pray tell me what is the meaning of the *dry pan and gradual fire*? for I expect to die by it. "O madam" replied she "never fear; you shall see e'er long the dry pan and gradual fire; but they are made for those that oppose the holy father's will; not for you that are so good to obey it. But pray, was *Don Francisco* very obliging?" I do not know, said I, for his discourse has put me out of my wits; he saluted me with great civility, but he left me abruptly.— "Well" said *Mary*, "you do not yet know his temper, he is extremely kind to people that are obedient to him, but if they are not, he is as unmerciful as *Nero*; so for your own sake, take care to oblige him in all respects; and now, dear madam, pray go to supper, and be easy." But the thoughts of the dry pan troubled me so much, that I could neither eat, nor sleep that night.

Early in the morning *Mary* got up, and told me, that nobody was yet stirring in the house, and that if I would promise secrecy, she would shew me the dry pan and gradual fire; so taking me down stairs, she brought me into a large room with a thick iron door, and within it was an oven burning at that time, and a large brass pan upon it, with a cover of the same, and a lock to it. In the next room, there was a great wheel covered on both sides, with thick boards; and opening a little window in the centre of it, she desired me to look with a candle on the inside of it. There I saw all the circumference of the wheel was set with sharp razors. After that, she shewed me a pit full of serpents and toads. She said, "now my good mistress, I'll tell you the use of these three things. The dry pan is for heretics and

" and those that oppose the holy father's will and
 " pleasure. They are put naked alive into the pan,
 " and the cover of it being locked up, the execu-
 " tioner begins to put a small fire in the oven, and by
 " degrees he augmenteth it, till the body is reduced
 " to ashes. The second is designed for those that
 " speak against the pope, and the holy fathers; for
 " they are put within the wheel, and the little door
 " being locked, the executioner turns the wheel till
 " the person is dead. And the third is for those
 " who condemn the images, and refuse to give due
 " respect and veneration to ecclesiastical persons :
 " for they are thrown into the pit, and so become
 " the food of serpents and toads." Then *Mary* said
 to me, that another day she would shew me the tor-
 ments for public sinners; but I was in so great an
 agony at what I had seen, that I desired her to shew
 me no more places; so we went to my room, and
 she again charged me to be very obedient to all the
 commands *Don Francisco* should give me, or I might
 be assured, if I was not, that I must undergo the
 torments of the dry pan. I conceived such an hor-
 ror of the gradual fire, that I was not mistress of
 my senses; so I promised *Mary* to follow her ad-
 vice. " If you are in that disposition," said she,
 " leave off all fear, and expect nothing but pleasure
 * and satisfaction. Now let me dress you, for you
 " must go to with a good morrow to *Don Francisco*,
 " and to breakfast with him." Having said this,
 she conveyed me through a gallery into his apart-
 ment; he was still in bed, and desired me to sit
 down by him, and ordered *Mary* to bring the cho-
 colate two hours after. When she was withdrawn,
 he immediately declared his inclination in so ardent
 a manner, that I had neither strength or power to
 oppose him; and so by extinguishing the fire of his
 passion, I was freed from the dry pan. When *Mary*
 came with the chocolate, I was very much ashamed
 to

to be seen in bed with him ; but she coming to the bed-side where I was, and kneeling down, paid me homage as if I had been a queen, and served me first with a cup of chocolate, desiring me to give another cup to *Don Francisco*, which he received very graciously. After breakfast she went away ; we discoursed for some time of various things ; but I never spoke a word, but when he desired me to answer him ; so at ten o'clock *Mary* came again and dressed me.

We left *Don Francisco* in bed, and she carried me into another chamber, very delightful and better furnished than the first ; for the windows were lower, and I had the pleasure of seeing the river and gardens. *Mary* then told me, that the young ladies would come to pay me their compliments before dinner ; and would take me to dine with them ; and begged me to remember her advice ; she had scarce finished these words, before I saw a troop of young beautiful ladies, finely dressed, who all, one after another came to embrace me, and with me joy. My surprise was so great, that I was unable to answer their compliments ; but one of them seeing me so silent, said to me, " madam, the solitude of this place " will affect you in the beginning, but when you " begin to feel the pleasures and amusements we " enjoy, you will quit your pensive thoughts ; now " we beg of you the honor to come and dine with " us to day ; and henceforth three days in a week." I returned them thanks, and so we went to dinner. That day we had all sorts of exquisite meats, delicate fruits, and sweetmeats. The room was long, with two tables on each side, and another at the front of it ; and I reckoned in it that day fifty-two young ladies, the eldest of them not exceeding twenty four years of age. Six maids did serve the whole number of us ; but *Mary* waited on me alone. After dinner we went up stairs into a long gallery ;
where.

where some of us played on instruments of music, others at cards, and some walked about for three or four hours together. At last *Mary* came up ringing a small bell, which was, as they informed me, the signal to retire into our rooms; but *Mary* said to the whole company, "ladies, to day is a day of recreation, so you may go into what rooms you please till eight o'clock." They all desired to go to my apartment with me. We found in my anti-chamber a table, with all sorts of sweetmeats upon it; iced-cinnamon, almonds-milk, and the like. Every one did eat and drink, but nobody spoke a word touching the sumptuousness of the table, or concerning the inquisition, or the holy fathers. So we spent our time in merry indifferent conversation till eight o'clock, and then every one retired to their own room.

As soon as they were gone, *Mary* let me know that *Don Francisco* did wait for me; so we went to his apartment, and supper being ready, we sat down, attended only by *Mary*. After it was over, she went away, and we went to bed. Next morning she served us with chocolate, which after we had drank, we slept till ten; at which time we got up. When I returned to my own chamber, I found ready two suits of clothes of rich brocade, and every thing else suitable to a lady of the first rank. I put on one, and when I was quite dressed, the ladies came to wish me joy, all dressed in different clothes, much richer than before. We spent the second day and the third day in the same recreation; *Don Francisco* continuing in the same manner with me; but on the fourth morning, after drinking chocolate, *Mary* told me, that a lady was waiting for me in her own room, and with an air of authority desired me to get up. *Don Francisco* saying nothing to the contrary, I obeyed, and left him in bed. I thought this was to give me some new comfort, but I was
very

very much mistaken ; for *Mary* conveyed me into a lady's room not eight feet long, which was a perfect prison ; and told me this was my room, and this young lady my bed-fellow and companion ; and without saying any more, she left me there.

What is this dear lady ? said I ; is it an enchanted place, or a hell upon earth ? I have lost father and mother, and what is worse, I have lost my honor, and my soul for ever. My new companion seeing me like a mad woman, took me by the hands and said, " dear sister, for this is the name I will henceforth give you, forbear to cry and grieve ; for you can do nothing by such extravagant behaviour but draw upon yourself a cruel death ; your misfortunes and ours are exactly of a piece ; you suffer nothing that we have not suffered before you ; but we dare not shew our grief for fear of greater evils : pray take courage, and hope in God, for he will surely deliver us out of this hellish place ; but be sure you shew no uneasiness before *Mary*, who is the only instrument either of our torments or comforts : have patience till we go to bed, and then I will venture to tell you more of the matter, which I hope will afford you some comfort." I was in a most desperate condition ; but my new sister *Leonora* prevailed so much upon me, that I overcame my vexation before *Mary* came again to bring our dinner, which was very different from what we had for three days before. After dinner another maid came to take away the plate and knife, for we had but one for us both. After she had gone out and locked up the door, " now, my dear sister" said *Leonora* " we shall not be disturbed again till eight at night ; so if you will promise me upon your hopes of salvation, to keep secret, while you are in this house, all the things I shall tell you, I will reveal all that I know." I threw myself at her feet, and promised all that she desired ; upon which, without further ceremony, she began as follows :

" My

“ My dear sister, you think your case very hard ;
 “ but I assure you, all the ladies in this house have
 “ already gone through the same ; in time you shall
 “ know all their stories, as they hope to know yours.
 “ I suppose *Mary* has been the chief instrument of
 “ your fright, as she has been of ours, and I warrant
 “ she has shewn you some horrible places, though
 “ not all, and that at the only thought of them you
 “ were so much troubled in your mind, that you
 “ have chosen the same way we did to redeem your-
 “ self from death. By what has happened to us,
 “ we know that *Don Francisco* has been your *Nero* ;
 “ for the three colours of our clothes are the distin-
 “ guishing tokens of the three holy fathers ; the red
 “ silk belongs to *Don Francisco*, the blue to *Guerrero*,
 “ and the green to *Aliaga* : for they always give the
 “ three first of these colours to those ladies that they
 “ bring hither for their use. We are strictly com-
 “ manded to make all demonstrations of joy, and to
 “ be very merry for three days when a young lady
 “ comes first here, as we did with you, and you
 “ must do with others ; but afterwards we live
 “ like prisoners, without seeing any living soul but
 “ the six maids, and *Mary*, who is the house-keeper.
 “ We dine all of us in the hall three days in a week.
 “ When any one of the holy fathers has a mind for
 “ one of his slaves, *Mary* comes for her at nine of the
 “ clock, and carries her to his apartment : but as
 “ they have so many, the turn comes it may be but
 “ once a month, except for those that happen to
 “ please them more than ordinary, and they are sent
 “ for often. Some nights *Mary* leaves the door of
 “ our rooms open, and that is a sign that one of the
 “ fathers has a mind to come that night ; but he
 “ comes so silent, that we do not know whether he
 “ is our patron or not. If one of us happen to be
 “ with-child, she is removed into a better chamber,
 “ and she sees nobody but the maid till she is de-
 “ livered.

sent to destroy the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, was entirely overwhelmed and lost in the sands. *Herodot.* Thalia. The idolators imputed it as a punishment for his impiety against *Jupiter*; but it was for want of knowing the danger—I suppose very few are ignorant of the contrivance of *Marius*, the Roman general, to get over the sands to Capua, to seize *Jugurtha's* treasures, which he thought secure. *Sallust. de Bello Jugurthino.*

(2) The prodigious fertility of Africa, in the vales between the deserts and the skirts of it, for a great breadth towards the two seas, is recorded by the best historians; tho' the ridge of it, over which our author was conducted, and other particular tracts, are all covered with sands.

(3) *I was designed for a human sacrifice.*] Our author's fears were not vain; considering the preparatives he saw, and other circumstances. Besides, 'tis well known the ancient Africans, particularly the Getulians and Lybians, and even the Carthaginians, made use of human sacrifices to appease their deities. *Beschart*, in his *Geographia Sacra*, proves beyond question, that the Carthaginians were part of the people of Canaan, driven out by *Jishua*, who used to sacrifice their children to *Moloch*, &c. Even in *Hannibal's* time, when they were grown more polite, they privately sent children to *Tyre* for a sacrifice to *Hercules*.

(4) *They performed to their deceased ancestors.*] The earliest accounts from Egypt, from whence these people come, tell us, that they had a great veneration for their deceased ancestors.—See the 3d part of the bishop of *Meaux's* history, quoted above.—*Diadorus Siculus*, who lived in the beginning of *Augustus's* reign, says of the Egyptians—they were particularly diligent about their sepulchres, or in the worship of their dead. The same superstition reigns still among the Chinese, whom I shall shew afterwards to have been a colony of Egyptians, notwithstanding that China and Egypt are so far distant from each other.

(5) The ancient Egyptians had a strong fondness for building pyramids. Whether they were for the same end as the tower of Babel, that is, to make themselves a name, or other ends, we can't tell.—The great pyramid is more ancient than all the rest; inasmuch, that the best authors don't know when to fix its date; some saying it was built by *Miris*, their first king; others by *Cecrops Lector*: but if the account the pophar gives of this origin, at the next station, be true, it was built before there was any king in Egypt. The river Nile was conveyed by art under the great pyramid.

(6) One of the ends of building the pyramids, was certainly for burying places for some great men.

(7) *Which was afterwards called Thebes, &c.*] Thebes, once the most famous city of Egypt, having an hundred gates, &c. was

the *No Amon* or *Diospolis* of the ancients. *Bochart, Phaleg. lib. 4.* — *Tacitus* says, that in the time of *Germanicus*, there was remaining an inscription in the Egyptian language, signifying, *Habitaſſe quondam* (Thebes) *ſeptingenta millia Hominum ætate militari*; i. e. that there was once ſeven hundred thouſand inhabitants in Thebes fit to bear arms. *Tacit. lib. 2. Annal.*

(8) This is certainly rank idolatry, from all the pophar calls it but a civil ceremony: thus the worſhip the Chineſe pay to their dead, and allowed by the jeſuits, was ſaid, by them, to be but a pious civil ceremony, tho' it was like this, or rather more ſuperſtitious. See the condemnation of it by pope *Clement XI.*

Continuation of the Memoirs.

WE were now paſt the tropic of cancer, (1) as I found by our ſhadows going ſouthward: we went on thus, a little bending towards the weſt again, almoſt parallel to the tropic. The breezes encreasing rather ſtronger than before, ſo that about midnight it was really cold. We gave our dromedaries water about ſun-ſetting, and reſreſhed ourſelves a little; then ſet out with new vigour at a prodigious rate; ſtill the breezes fell between nine and ten; however we made ſhift to go on, becauſe they came again about noon; between three and four was the hotteſt time of all.

Befides going now parallel to the tropic, we travelled on the hot ſands, or even deſcendings; whereas when we pointed ſouthwards towards the line, we found the ground to be inſenſibly riſing upon us; (2) but as we went on the flats, as if it had not been that we were almoſt on the ridge of Africa, which made it cooler than one can well believe; it had been impoſſible to bear the heats. When we reſted, we not only pitched our tents for ourſelves and

and dromedaries, but the sands were so hot, that we were forced to lay things under our feet to preserve them from burning. Thus we travelled thro' those dismal desarts for four days, without sight of any living creature but ourselves. Sands and skies were all that presented to our view. The fatigue was the greatest I ever underwent in my life.

The fourth day, about eight in the morning, by good fortune for us, or else by the prudent forecast of the pophar, who knew all his stations, we saw another vale towards the right hand, with some straggling trees here and there, but not looking nigh so pleasant as the first: we made to it with all our speed, and had much ado to bear the heats till we came to it: we alighted immediately, and led our dromedaries down the gentle descent till we could find a thicker part of it. The first trees were thin and old, as if they had just moisture enough to keep them alive: the ground was but just covered over with a little sun-burnt moss, without any sign of water, but our stock was not yet gone. At length, as we descended, the grove encreased every way, the trees were large, with some dates here and there, but not so good as in the other. We rested a little, then continued to descend for some time, till we came into a very cool and thick shade. Here the pophar told us, we must stay two or three days, perhaps longer, till he saw his usual signs for proceeding on his journey, and bid us be sparing of our water for fear of accidents.

We settled our dromedaries as before; for ourselves we could scarce take any thing, we were so fatigued, wanting rest more than meat and drink. The pophar ordering us some cordial wines, they had along with them for that purpose, told us, we might sleep as long as we would; only bid us be sure to cover ourselves well; for the nights were long, and even cold about midnight. We were all

soon asleep, and did not wake till four the next morning. The pophar being solicitous for all our safeties, as well as his own, for this was the critical time of our journey, was awake the first of us. When we were up, and refreshed ourselves, which we did with a very good appetite, he told us we must go up on the sands again to observe the signs. We took our dromedaries along with us for fear of wild beasts, tho' we saw none; walking gently up the sands, till we came to very high ground. We had but a dreary prospect of sun-burnt plains, as far as our eyes could carry us, without grass, stick or shrub, except when we turned our backs to look at the vale where we had lain all night, which we saw spread and extended itself a vast way. He assured us, the notes left for rules by his ancestors, mentioned a spring in that vale below us, which running lower became a rivulet, but that either by an earthquake or some flood of sand, it was quite choked up, running under ground without any one's knowledge, whether it broke out again or was entirely swallowed up. (3) He said also, that by the most ancient accounts of his forefathers, the sands were not so dangerous to pass as they are now, or of such vast extent, (4) but had fruitful vales much nearer one another than at present. He added, that he hoped to see the signs he wanted for proceeding on our way, since there was no stirring till those appeared: that according to his ephemeris and notes, they should appear about this time, unless something very extraordinary happened.

This was about eight in the morning, the ninth day after we set out for the deserts. He was every now and then looking southward or southwest, with great solicitude in his looks, as if he wondered he saw nothing. At length he cried out, with great emotions of joy, "'tis coming! look yonder" says he "towards the southwest, and see what you can discover,

discover, as far as your eyes can carry you." We told him, we saw nothing but some clouds of sands, carried here and there like whirlwinds. "That is the sign I want;" continued he, "but mark well which way it drives." We said it drove directly eastward, as nigh as we could guess. "It doth," says he; then turning his face westwards, with a little point of the south, "all those vast deserts are now in such vast commotion of storms and whirlwinds, that man and beast would soon be overwhelmed in those rolling waves of sands." He had scarce said this, but we saw at a vast distance, ten thousand little whirlspouts of sand, rising and falling with a prodigious tumult and velocity (5) eastward, with vast thick clouds of sand and dust following it. "Come," says he "let us go down to our resting place, for there we must stay till we see further how matters go." As this appeared nearer to me than any of the rest, I made bold to ask him, what was the cause of this sudden phenomenon, being possessed with a great idea of the knowledge of the man. He told me, that about the full moon there always fell prodigious rains, (6) coming from the western part of Africa, on this side the equator; at the first coming, driving a little southwest for some time, then they turned almost south, and crossed the line till they came to the source of the Nile; in which parts they fell for three weeks or a month together, which was the occasion of the overflowing of that river: (7) but that on this side the equator, it only rained about fifteen days, preceded by those whirlwinds and clouds of sand, which rendered all that tract impassable, till the rains had laid them again.

By this time we came down to our resting place, and tho' we did not want sleep or refreshment, yet we took both, to have the cool of the evening to recreate ourselves after so much fatigue, not being likely to move till the next evening at soonest.

Remarks of Signor Rhedi.

(1) *We were now past the tropic of cancer, as I found by our shadows, &c.*] When persons are beyond that tropic at mid-day, the shadows of things are towards the south, because the sun is then north of us.

They might have passed the tropic before, since it runs over part of the desert of Barca, not much southward of Egypt; but it seems they steered westward for some time.

(2) His observations are just, since all the new philosophers allow the earth to be spheroidal and gibbous towards the equator; whoever therefore goes by land, either from the north or south towards the equator, much ascend. This seems to be a very natural reason why those immense bays are not so excessively hot. The highest mountains are considerably higher the sun than the low lands, yet excessive cold in the hottest climates; in the vale, the rays of the sun are cooped in, and doubled and trebled by refraction and reflection, &c. The same air put in a turbulent motion will be hot, and in a direct one cold.

(3) Geographers agree, that rivers, and even great lakes, in Africa sink under ground, and are quite lost without any visible outlets. The vast depth of the strata of sand, seem more proper to swallow them up there than in other parts of the world.

(4) There seems to be a natural reason for what he says; for those vast sands or hills of gravel, were undoubtedly left by the general deluge, as probably all the lesser strata or beds of gravel were. Yet great part of them must have been covered with slime or mud, for several years after the deluge; some thinner, some thicker, and consequently more moist and productive accordingly. Nevertheless, the violent rays of the sun still render them more dry and barren, and in all probability, these deserts will encrease more and more where the country is not cultivated.

(5) Tho' in the vast ocean between the tropics, where promontories don't intervene, the winds are generally easterly, yet there is a perpetual west-wind blows into Guinea.—There are vast rains at the solstices, between the tropics, as the accounts of these parts declare, tho' at that time of the year, more beyond the line than on this side of it. It is not to be questioned, but in such violent changes, particularly before those rains, there must be furious hurricanes of wind and sand, enough to overwhelm whole armies and countries.—The most incredible part of this narration is, how they could travel at all under the tropic in the summer solstice? only, as he says, the ground being very high and open, it must draw air.

(6) Naturalists

(6) Naturalists agree, that beyond the line there are great rains at this season. It is possible they may begin on that side, being driven by the perpetual west-winds into Guinea, and then, by natural causes, turn towards the line and southern tropic.

(7) The causes of the overflowing of the river Nile, unknown to most of the ancients, are now allowed to be the great rains falling in June and July about the line and the southern tropic, and the melting of the snow on the mountains of the moon lying in that tract. None can wonder there should be snow in those hot climates, who have heard of the Andes or Cordilleras, bordering on Peru. Our Italy is very hot, yet the Alps and Appennines are three parts of the year covered with snow.—The Nile overflows in August, which seems to be a proper distance of time for the waters to come down to Egypt, such a vast way off from the cause of it.—There is a river in CochinChina, and elsewhere, that overflows in the same manner,

Continuation of the Memoirs.

AT five in the evening the pophar called us up to go with him once more to the highest part of the desert, saying, he wanted one sign yet, which he hoped to have that evening, or else it would go hard with us for want of water, our provision of it being almost spent; and there were no springs in the deserts that we were to pass over, till we came within a long day's journey of the end of our voyage. However, he scarce doubted but we should see the certain sign he wanted this evening; on which account, there did not appear such a solicitude in his countenance as before; for tho' he was our governor or captain, with the most respectful deference paid to him that ever I saw, yet he governed us in all respects as if we were his children, with all the tenderness of a father, as his name imported, tho'

none

none of the company were his real children. If there were any signs of partiality, it was in my favour, always expressing the most endearing tenderness for me, which the other young men, instead of taking any dislike at it, were really pleased with it : no brothers in the world could be more loving to one another than we were. The elderly men took delight in seeing our youthful gambols with one another : it is true, their nature is, of the two, a little more inclined to gravity than the Italians, who are no light nation ; yet their gravity is accompanied with all the serenity and cheerfulness imaginable ; and I thought then, by our first acquaintance, that I never saw such an air of a freeborn people in my life, as if they knew no other subjection but what was merely filial.——When we came to the high ground, we could see the hurricanes play still ; but what was more wonderful, very few effects of that aerial tumult came our way, but drove on almost parallel to the equator. The air looked like a brown dirty fog, towards the east and southeast ; all the whirlwinds tending towards those parts. It began after some time to look a little more lightsome towards the west ; but so, as if it were occasioned by a more strong and settled wind. At length we perceived at the farthest horizon, the edge of a prodigious black cloud, extending itself to the southwest and western points, rising with a discernable motion, tho' not very fast. We saw plain enough, by the blackness and thickness of it, that it prognosticated a great deal of rain. Here they all fell prostrate on the earth ; then raising up their hands and eyes towards the sun, they seemed to pay their adorations to that great luminary. The pophar, with an audible voice, pronounced some unknown words, as if he were returning thanks to that planet for what he saw. At this I stepped back, and kept myself at a distance ; not so much for

for fear of my life as before, as not to join with them in their idolatrous worship; for I could not be ignorant now, that they had a wrong notion of God; and if they acknowledged any, it was the sun; which in effect is, the least irrational idolatry people can be guilty of. (1) When they had done their orisons, the pophar turned to me and said, "I see you won't join with us in any of our religious ceremonies; but I must tell you," continued he, "that cloud is the saving of all our lives: and as that great sun (pointing to the luminary) is the instrument that draws it up, as indeed he is the preserver of all our beings, we think ourselves obliged to return our thanks to him." Here he stopped, as if he had a mind to hear what I could say for myself. I was not willing to enter into disputes, well knowing that religious quarrels are the most provoking of any; yet I thought myself obliged to make profession of my belief in the supreme God, now I was called upon in the professed worship of a false deity. I answered with the most modest respect I was capable of, that, that glorious planet was one of the physical causes of the preservation of our beings, and of the production of all things; but that he was produced himself by the most high God, the first cause and author of all things in heaven and earth; the sun only moving by his order, as an inanimate being, incapable of hearing our prayers, and only operating by his direction. However, I offered to join with him in returning my best thanks to the most high God, for creating the sun, capable by his heat to raise that cloud for the saving our lives. Thus I adapted my answer, as nigh to his discourse as I could, yet not so as to deny my faith; for I could not entirely tell what to make of them as yet; since I observed, they were more mysterious in their religious ceremonies than in any thing else, (2) or rather this was the only thing

thing they were reserved in. He pondered a good while on what I said, but at length he added, "you are not much out of the way, you and I will talk this matter over another time," so turned off the discourse; I supposed it to be because of the young men standing by us, who he had not a mind should receive any other notions of religion but what they had been taught.

It was sun-set by that time we came down to the grove. We had some small flights of sand, caused by an odd commotion in the air, attended with little whirlwinds, which put us in some apprehensions of a sand-shower; but he bid us take courage, since he could not find in all his accounts, that the hurricanes or rains ever came in any great quantity as far as we were; the nature of them being to drive more parallel to the equator: but he was sure we should have some, and ordered us to pitch our tents as firm as we could, and draw out all our water vessels to catch the rain against all accidents. When this was done, and we had eat our suppers, we recreated ourselves in the grove, wandering about here and there, and discoursing of the nature of these phenomena. We did not care to go to rest so soon, having reposed ourselves so well that day, and had all the following night and the next day to stay at that place. The grove grew much pleasanter as we advanced into it; there were a great many dates and other fruits, the natural produce of Africa, but not quite so rich as in the first grove. I made bold to ask the pophar, how far that grove extended, or whether there were any inhabitants. He told me, he could not tell any thing of either: that it was possible the grove might enlarge itself different ways among the winding hills; since his accounts told him, there had been a rivulet of water, tho' now swallowed up; but he believed there were no inhabitants, since there was no mention made of them

them in his papers : nor did he believe any other people in the world, beside themselves, knew the way, or would venture so far into those horrid inhospitable deserts. I asked, how he was sure that was the place ; or by what rule he could know how far he was come, or where he was to turn to the right or left ? having a mind to learn whether he had any certain knowledge of the longitude, which creates such difficulties to the Europeans. He stopped a little at my questions ; then said, without any apparent hesitation, " why, we know by the needle how far we vary from the north or south point, at least till we come to the tropic ; (3) if not, we can take the meridian and height of the sun, and knowing the time of the year, we can tell how near we approach to, or are off the equator." Yes, said I ; but as there are different meridians every step you take, how can you tell how far you go east or west, when you run either way in parallel lines (4) to the tropic or equator ? Here he stopped again, and either could not make any certain discovery, or had not a mind to let me into the secret. The first was most likely ; however, he answered readily enough, and said, " you please me with your curious questions, since I find you understand the difficulty : why" continued he, " all the method we have, is to observe exactly how far our dromedaries go in an hour, or any other space of time : you see we go much about the same pace ; we have no stops in our way, but when we know of it, to refresh ourselves or so, for which we generally allow so much time. (5) When we set out from Egypt, we went due west ; our beasts gain so many miles an hour ; we know by that how far we are more west than we were : (6) if we decline to the north or the south, we know likewise, how many miles we have advanced in so many hours, and compute how much the declination takes off from our

our going due west : and tho' we can't tell to a demonstrative exactness, we can tell pretty nigh."— This was all I could get out of him at that time, which did not satisfy the difficulty : then I asked him, how they came to find out this way, or to venture to seek out a habitation unknown to all the world beside. He answered, " for liberty and preservation of their laws." I was afraid of asking any further, seeing he gave such general answers.

By this time it began to be prodigious dark, for all it was full moon. (7) We had some sudden gusts of wind that startled us a little. It lightened at such a rate, as I never saw in my life, tho' it was towards the horizon, and drove side-ways of us; yet it was really terrible to see : the flashes were so thick, the sky was almost in a light fire : we made up to our tents as fast as we could : tho' we had only the skirts of the clouds over us, it rained pretty hard, so that we had soon supplied our vessels with water, and got safe into our shelter. The thunder was but just audible at a vast distance, and for our comfort, drove still to the eastward. I don't know in what dispositions the elderly men might be in, being accustomed to the nature of it ; but I am sure I was in some apprehension, not doubting, but if it had come directly over us, nothing could withstand its impetuosity. I had very little inclination to rest, whatever my companions had ; but pondering with myself, both the nature of the thing and the prodigious skill these men must have in the laws of the universe, I staid with impatience waiting the event.

Remarks of Signor Rhedi.

(1) *The least irrational idolatry people could be guilty of, &c.]* All idolatry being a worship of creatures, instead of the one supreme God, must be irrational. But it is certain, and well attested by ancient history, that the eastern nations worshipped the
sun :

sun : probably it was the first idolatrous worship that was in the world. The great benefits all nature receives from his influence ; the glorious brightness of his rays ; the variety, yet constant tenour, of his motions, might induce ignorant people to believe him to be of a superior nature to other creatures, tho' it is evidently certain, he is limited in his perfections, and consequently no God.

—It is true, the ancient Egyptians, from whom these people sprung, as will be seen afterwards, did worship the sun in the most early times. There was a priest of the sun in the patriarch *Joseph's* time : and as the Egyptians were some of the first astronomers in the world, contending for antiquity with the Chaldeans : tho' both the Chaldeans and Egyptians had their knowledge from the descendants of *Shem*, or his father *Noah*, who, by the admirable structure of the ark, appears to have been master of very great sciences ; I say, the Egyptians being so much addicted to astronomy, it is probable, that glorious luminary was the chief object of their worship. They did not worship idols and beasts till long afterwards. See the learned *Bochart's Phaleg. in Misraim.*

(2) *Mysterious in their religious ceremonies, &c.*] This agrees with all ancient accounts of the first people of Egypt ; witness their emblems, hieroglyphics, &c. Most of the ancient fables, under which so many mysteries were couched, did not first spring from the Greeks, tho' improved by them ; but from the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who at first held a communication of sciences with one another, but grew to emulosity afterwards.—The wonderful things the Egyptian *Magi* did, in imitation of the miracles wrought by *Moses*, shew they were great artists.

(3) *At least till we came to the tropic, &c.*] Experimental philosophy tells us, that the needle is of little use in navigation when under the line, but lies fluctuating without turning to any point of itself ; because, as some suppose, the current of the magnetic effluvia, flying from pole to pole, has there its longest axis, as the diameter of the equator is longer than the axis of the world : but whether this has the same effect on the needle by land, which is the case, as it has by sea, we must have more certain experiments to know, tho' it is probable it may.

(4) *In parallel lines to the tropic or equator, &c.*] Wherever we stand we are on the summit of the globe with respect to us. Whoever therefore thinks to go due west, parallel to the equator or east, will not do so, but will cut the line at long-run, because he makes a greater circle. These men therefore, when they thought they went due west, were approaching to the line more than they were aware of ; and supposing the structure of the earth to be spheroidal, went up hill all the way, bating some small inequalities.

(5) This must be understood according to the foregoing remark.

(6) At first sight it seems to be easier to find out the longitude by

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by land than by sea, because we may be more certain how we advance. At sea, there are currents and tides, and settings in of the sea, which make the ship go afloat more or less insensibly. As yet there has been no certain rule found to tell us, how far we advance due east or due west. The elevation of the pole, or the height of the sun shew us, how far we decline to the north or south; but we have no certain rule for the east or west.

(7) The full moon about the summer solstice generally brings rain, and the over-flowing of the Nile is now known to be caused by the vast rains in the regions near the equator.

Continuation of the Memoirs.

I WAS musing with myself on what I had heard and seen, not being able yet to guess with any satisfaction, what these people were, when an unexpected accident was the cause of a discovery, which made me see they were not greater strangers to me than I was to myself.—The weather was stifling hot, so that we had thrown off our garments to our shirts, and bared our breasts for coolness sake; when there came a prodigious flash, or rather blaze of lightning, which struck full against the breast of one of the young men opposite to myself, and discovered a bright gold medal hanging down from his neck, with the figure of the sun engraved on it, surrounded with unknown characters; the very same in all appearance I had seen my deceased mother always wear about her neck, and since her death I carried with me for her sake. I asked the meaning of that medal, since I had one about me, as it appeared of the very same make. If the pophar had been struck with lightning, he could not have been in a greater surprise than he was at these words; “you one of these

these medals!" said he, "how in the name of wonder did you come by it?" I told him my mother wore it about her neck from a little child, and with that pulled it out of my pocket. He snatched it out of my hands with a prodigious eagerness, and held it against the lightning perpetually flashing in upon us. As soon as he saw it was the same with the other, he cried out, "great fun, what can this mean!" then asked me again where I had it; how my mother came by it; who my mother was; what age she was of when she died. As soon as the violence of his extasy would give me leave, I told him my mother had it ever since she was a little child; that she was the adopted daughter of a noble merchant in Corsica, who had left her all his effects when my father married her: that she was married at thirteen, and I was then nineteen, and the second son, so that I guessed she was towards forty when she died. "It must be *Isphena*!" cried he, with the utmost extasy, "it must be she." Then he caught me in his arms, and said, "you are now really one of us, being the son of my father's only surviving daughter, my dear sister *Isphena*," whose remembrance made the tears run down the old man's cheeks very plentifully. "She was lost at Grand Cairo about the time you mention, together with a twin sister, who I fear is never to be heard of." Then I recollected I had heard my mother say, she had been informed, the gentleman who adopted her for his daughter, had bought her when she was a little girl of a Turkish woman of that place; that being charmed with the early signs of beauty in the child, and having no children, he adopted her for his own. "Yes," said the pophar, "it must be she; but what is become of the other sister? for" said he, my dear sister brought two at one unfortunate birth which cost her her life." I told him I never heard any thing of the other. Then he acquainted me

that his sister's husband was the person who conducted the rest to visit the tombs of their ancestors as he did now; that the last voyage he took, his wife, who out of her great fondness had teased and importuned him so much to go along with him, that tho' it were contrary to their laws, he contrived to carry her disguised in man's clothes like one of the young men he chose to accompany him in the expedition; that staying at Grand Cairo till the next season for his return, she proved with-child of twins; and to his unspeakable grief, died in child-bed; that when they carried her up to Thebes to be interred with his ancestors, of which I should have a more exact information by and by, they were obliged to leave the children with a nurse of the country, with some Egyptian servants to take care of the house and effects; but before they came back, the nurse, with her accomplices, ran away with the children, and, as we supposed, murdered them; rif'd the house of all the jewels, and other valuable things, and were never heard of afterwards. But it seems they thought it more for their advantage to sell the children, as we find they did by your mother; but what part of the world the other sister is in, or whether she be at all, is known only to the great author of our being. However," continued he, "we rejoice in finding those hopeful remains of your dear mother, whose resemblance you carry along with you; it was that gave me such a kindness for your person the first time I saw you, with something, methought, I had never observed in any other race of people beside. But" said he, "I deprive my companions and children here of the happiness of embracing their own flesh and blood, since we all sprung from one common father, the author of our nation, with whom you are going to be incorporated once more." Here we embraced one another with a joy that is inexpressible. Now all my former fears were

were entirely vanished : tho' I had lost the country where I was born, I had found another, of which I could no ways be ashamed, being the most humane and civilized people I ever saw, and by all my hopes, one of the finest countries in the world ; the only check to my happiness was, that they were infidels. However, I was resolved not to let any consideration blot out of my mind that I was a christian : on which account, when the pophar would have tied the medal about my neck, as a badge of my race, I had some difficulty in that point, for fear it should be an emblem of idolatry, seeing them to be extremely superstitious ; so I asked him, what was the meaning of the figure of the sun, with those unknown characters round about it : he told me the characters were to be pronounced *omabim*, i. e. the sun is the author of our being, or mor literally, the sun is our father. *Om* or *on*, signifies the sun, [this will be explained in another place.] *ab* signifies father, *im* or *mim*, us. This made me remember they had told me in Egypt that they were children of the sun ; and gave me some uneasiness at their idolatrous notions ; so I told him, I would keep it as a cognizance of my country, but could not acknowledge any but God to be the supreme author of my being. " As to the supreme author," said he, " your opinion is little different from ours ;* but let us leave these religious matters till another time ; we'll close this happy day with thanksgiving to the supreme being for this discovery ; to-morrow, since you are now really one of us, I will acquaint you with our origin, and how we came to hide ourselves in these inhospitable desarts."

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* These people are something like the Chinese, who worship the material heaven or sky, which some missionaries could think compatible with christianity.

The reader is desired not to censure or disbelieve the following account of the origin and transmigration of these people, till he has perused the learned remarks of Signor Rhedi.

The next morning the pophar called me to him; —“son,” said he, “to fulfil my promise which I made you last night, and that you may not be like the rest of the ignorant world, who know not who their forefathers and ancestors were: (1) whether they sprung from brutes or barbarians is all alike to them, provided they can but grovel on the earth as they do. You must know therefore, as I suppose you remember what I told you at our first station, that we came originally from Egypt. When you asked me how we came to venture thro’ these inhospitable deserts, I told you it was for liberty and the preservation of our laws; but as you are now found to be one of us, I design to give you a more particular account of your origin.—Our ancestors did originally come from Egypt, once the happiest place in the world: altho’ the name of Egypt and Egyptians has been given to that country long since we came out of it, the original name of it was Mezzoraim, (2) from the first man that peopled it, the father of our nation, and we call ourselves Mezzoraians from him. We have a tradition delivered down to us from our first ancestors; that when the earth first rose out of the water, (3) six persons, three men and three women, rose along with it, either produced by the sun, (4) or sent by the supreme deity to inhabit it. That *Mezzoraim* our first

first founder was one of those six; who encreasing in number, made choice of the country now called Egypt, for the place of his habitation, where he settled with sixty of his children and grand children, all whom he brought along with him, governing them as a real father, and instructing them to live with one another, as brothers of one and the same family. (5) He was a peaceable man, abhorring the shedding of blood, (6) which he said would be punished by the supreme ruler of the world: extremely given to the search of sciences, and contemplation of the heavens. (7) It was he who was the first inventor of all our arts, and whatever was useful for the government of life, sprung from him,—tho' his grandson *Thaoth* (8) rather excelled him, particularly in the more sublime sciences. Thus our ancestors lived for four hundred years, encreasing and spreading over all the land of Egypt, and abounding with the blessings of peace and knowledge, without guile or deceit, neither doing or fearing harm from any, till the wicked descendants of the other men, called *Hicksoes*, (9) envying their happiness and the richness of their country, broke in upon them like a torrent, destroying all before them, and taking possession of that happy place our ancestors had rendered so flourishing. The poor, innocent *Mezzoraniens* abhorring, as I said, the shedding of blood, and ignorant of all violence, were slain like sheep all over the country; their wives and daughters violated before their eyes. Those their merciless enemy spared, were made slaves to work and till the earth for their new lords.

SECRETARY.—Here the inquisitors interrupted him, and asked him, whether he thought it unlawful in all cases to resist force by force; or whether the law of nature did not allow the *Mezzoraniens* to resist those cruel invaders even to the shedding of blood; as also to punish public malefactors with death

death for the preservation of the whole. There intent was, as they are cautious of any new opinions, to know whether he might not be a dogmatizer, and advance some erroneous notions, either by holding that to be lawful which was not so, or denying things to be lawful, which really may be allowable by the light of nature.

GAUDENTIO.—Doubtless they might lawfully have resisted, even to the shedding of blood in that case, as public criminals may be put to death. I only acquaint your reverences with the notions peculiar to these people. As for the punishment of their criminals, your reverences will see, when I come to their laws and customs, that they have other ways and means of punishing crimes as effectual as putting to death; tho' living entirely within themselves, free from all mixture and commerce with other people; they have preserved their puritive innocence in that respect to a very great degree.

INQUISITOR.—Go on.

GAUDENTIO.—The pophar continuing his relation, added; but what was most intolerable was, that these impious Hicksoes forced them to adore men, beasts, and even insects, as gods; nay, and some to see their children offered in sacrifice to those inhuman deities. (10) This dreadful inundation fell at first only on the lower parts of Egypt, which were then the most flourishing: as many of the distressed inhabitants as could escape their cruel hands, fled to the upper parts of the country, in hopes to find there some little respite from their misfortunes; but, alas! what could they do? They knew no use of arms; neither would their laws suffer them to destroy their own species; yet expected every hour to be devoured by their cruel enemies. The country to which they were now retired was too small for them, if they could have enjoyed it in peace. The heads of the families in such distress were divided

vided in their councils, or rather they had no council to follow: some of them fled into the neighbouring deserts, which you have seen are very dismal on both sides the upper part of that kingdom; they were dispersed like a flock of sheep scattered by the ravenous wolves. The consternation was so great, they were resolved to fly to the farthest parts of the earth, rather than fall into the hands of those inhuman monsters. The greatest part of them agreed to build ships, and try their fortunes by sea. Our great father, *Mexxoraim*, had taught them the art of making boats, (11) to cross the branches of the great river [Nile;] which some said he had learned by being preserved in such a thing from a terrible flood, that overflowed all the land;* which instrument of their preservation they so improved afterwards, that they could cross the lesser sea (12) without any difficulty. This being resolved on, they could not agree where to go; some being resolved to go by one sea, some by the other. However they set all hands to work, so that in a year's time they had built a vast number of vessels, trying them backwards and forwards along the coasts, mending what was deficient, and improving what they imagined might be for their greater security. They thought now, or at least their eagerness to avoid their enemies made them think, they could go with safety all over the main sea.

As our ancestors had chiefly given themselves to the study of arts and sciences, and the knowledge of nature, they were the most capable of such enterprises of any people in the world. But the apprehension of all that was miserable being just fresh before their eyes, quickened their industry to such a degree, as none but men in the like circumstances can

* In all appearance this must have been *Noah's* flood, which 'tis much *Signor Rbedi* passes over in his remarks..

can have a just idea of. Most of these men were those who had fled in crowds from lower Egypt. The natural inhabitants of the upper parts, tho' they were in a very great consternation, and built ships as fast as they could, yet their fears were not so immediate, especially seeing the Hicksoes remained yet quiet in their new possessions. But news being brought them that the Hicksoes began to stir again, more swarms of their cruel brood still flocking into that rich country, they resolved now to delay the time no longer, but to commit themselves, wives, and children, with all that was most dear and precious, to the mercy of that inconstant element, rather than trust to the barbarity of their own species. They who came out of the lower Egypt, were resolved to cross the great sea, (13) and with immense labour were forced to carry their materials partly by land, till they came to the outermost branch of the Nile, since their enemies coming over the Isthmus, tho' they hindered them from going out of their country by land, unless by the desarts, yet had not taken possession of that part of the country.

It is needless to recount their cries and lamentations at leaving their dear country. I shall only tell you, that they ventured into the great sea, which they crossed, and never stopped till they came to another sea, (14) on the sides of which they fixed their habitation, that they might go off again in case they were pursued. This we learnt from the account of our ancestors, who met with some of them that came to visit the tombs of their deceased parents, as we do : but it is an immense time since ; we never heard any more of them.—The other part, who were much the greater number, went down the lesser sea, (15) having built their ships on that sea ; they never stopped or touched on either side, till they came to a narrow part of it, (16) which

which led them into the vast ocean; there they turned off to the left into the eastern sea, (17) but whether they were swallowed up in the merciless abyss, or carried into some unknown regions, we cannot tell, for they were never heard of more: only of late years we have heard talk at Grand Cairo, of a very numerous and civilized nation in the eastern parts of the world, whose laws and customs have some resemblance to ours; but who and what they are, we cannot tell, since we have never met with any of them.

Remarks of Signor Rhedi.

(1) *Who know not who their ancestors, &c.*] It would certainly be a great satisfaction to persons to know from what race of people, country, or family they sprung originally. This ignorance is owing chiefly to the barbari tramontani,* and other northern nations, who have from time to time over-run the face of Europe; leaving a mixture of their spawn in all parts of it, so that no one knows whether he came originally from Scythia or Asia; from a civilized nation, or from the greatest brutes: and tho' wars and invasions have destroyed or interchanged the inhabitants of most countries, yet this man's observation is a just censure of the neglect of most people, with respect to their genealogy and knowledge of their ancestors, where they have been settled in a country for several ages. But there are matters of greater moment in this man's relation, true or false, which lead us into some curious remains of ancient history.

(2) *Mexoraim from the first man, &c.*] The original name of Egypt was Miiraim; from Misraim, Mesoraim, or Metsoraim, as the learned *Bockart* explains it, lib. 4. *geographia sacra* in Misraim. *Monsieur du Pin's* history of the old testament, chap. vi. and others.

All ancient authors agree, that it was once the richest and happiest country in the world; flourishing with plenty, and even learning, before the patriarch *Abraham's* time. There is a very remarkable fragment of *Eupolemius*, an ancient heathen writer, taken from the Babylonian monuments, preserved by *Ensebius*.
lib.

* *Signor Rhedi* being an Italian, one can't wonder he speaks so contemptibly of the northern people; the Italians call them all barbari.

lib. 9. Preparat: Evan. The whole fragment in our mother tongue signifies, that according to the Babylonians, the first was *Belus*, the same with *Kronos* or *Saturn*: from him came *Ham*, or *Cham*, the father of *Chanaan*, brother to *Misraim*, father of the Egyptians.

(3) *The earth rose out of the water, &c.*] This is an obscure notion of *Noah's* flood, known to all nations, at least the eastern, as appears by the oldest remains; of which see *Bochart* in that article. lib. 1. the earth rose out of the water, or the water sunk from the earth.—These people might mistake something of that undoubted and ancient tradition. But *Misraim* could not be ignorant of the flood, his father *Ham* having been in the ark, whether ignorance or other motives made his posterity vary in the account; but it is evident the ancients had a notion of the general deluge, as may easily be proved by the remains of heathen authors bearing testimony to the scripture account of it.

(4) *Either produced by the sun, &c.*] The ancient Egyptians thought men, as well as insects, were produced out of the slime of the Nile by the heat of the sun, and called themselves Aborigines, as several other nations did; tho' this wise man is inclined to think they were created by *God*, as it is evident and certain they were; for since we see one single insect cannot be produced without a cause, it is nonsense, as well as impossible, to imagine an infinite series of men and animals could be produced without a separate cause; on which account atheism is one of the most foolish and absurd notions in the world.

(5) *Herodotus* tells us, the Egyptians pretended to be the first inhabitants of the earth; tho' the Ethiopians contended with them for antiquity. I must quote the words in latin, out of *Laurentius Valli's* translation, because I have him not in Greek,—*Omnium Hominum priores se exti tasse arbitrabantur*,—they esteemed themselves, says he, to have been the first of all men. *Herodot.* lib. 2. *Euterpe*.

(6) *Of the same family, &c.*] It is certain from *Bochart*, and other learned authors; that the Egyptian government, as well as that of most nations, was at first patriarchal, till *Nimrod* founded the first kingdom or empire in the world; whose example others followed according to their power. However, the patriarchal government was soon broke in upon in Egypt, since they had kings in *Abraham* and *Isaac's* time, as we learn from the old testament. See *Bochart's* geographia sacra.

(7) *Abhorring the shedding of blood, &c.*] The celebrated bishop of Meaux, in the third part of his universal history, gives a wonderful description of the justice and piety of the first Egyptians, who had such a horror of shedding men's blood, that they punished their criminals after they were dead; which was as much in *terrorem*, considering their superstitious reverence for their

their deceased friends and parents, as if they had been punished when alive. The reason why the ancient moral heathens abhorred the shedding of blood, might be on account that *Noah's* sons living before the deluge, knew the wickedness of the world was the cause of that dreadful judgment : and shedding of blood being the first crime punished by God, they might take warning by such terrible examples, tho' their impiety, in some nations, soon obscured this innate light of nature : particularly, the descendants of *Ham*, all but this *Misraim*, who, with his family, by all accounts first peopled Egypt, and they were noted for justice and knowledge. It will be made evident in the subsequent remarks, that these Hicksoes were the descendants of wicked *Chanaan* or *Cush*, who destroyed the peaceable state of the first Egyptians, and introduced idolatry among them, which made great numbers of them fly into other parts of the world to save themselves.

(7) *Extremely given to the search of sciences, &c.*] The same learned bishop of Meaux, and other historians, assure us, it is a thing well known to all the learned, that arts and sciences were brought to very great perfection in the earliest times in Egypt. *Moses* was instructed in the sciences of the Egyptians. *Triptolemus*, the founder of agriculture, came out of Egypt; *Bacchus*, the inventor of wine, according to the ancients, came out of Egypt, or *Lybia*, which borders upon it; tho' it was first learned from *Noah*: *Pythagoras*, and other learned men, went into Egypt to be instructed by the priests, &c. *Herodotus* says the same himself.

(8) *His grandson Tha-oth.*] This *Tha-oth*, the famous philosopher of the Egyptians, was before *Mercury*, or *Trismegistus*, tho' some take him to be the same. All allow him to be extremely ancient, but cannot fix the time when he lived. Historians murder his name at a strange rate: *Bochart* calls him *Tantus*, lib. 2. chap. cxxi. *Clemens Alex.* lib. 6. *Strom.* says, he wrote 42 books of astrology, geography, physic, policy, theology, religion and government. *Joseph Ben Gorian de Divinatione Gentium* calls him *Tutis*; some call him *Theut*, others *Tent*, *Taut*, *Thoth*, &c. but according to this man, his name was *Tha-oth*. It is undoubted, however, that he was the great master of the Egyptians; but derived his learning from *Noah*, who might have the knowledge of arts and sciences from the antediluvian world, or from the columns of *Seth*, which *Josephus* says, contain the principles of astrology, and were erected before the flood by the nephews of *Seth*; one of which columns, as he says, remained in Syria in his time. *Joseph.* lib. 2. an. c. 2.

(9) *Called Hicksoes, &c.*] The same *Josephus*, lib. 2, contra Appian, says, that Hicksoes, or Hycloes, an old Egyptian word signifies, King Shepherds, or King of Beasts, given them by the native Egyptians, as a name of disgrace and contempt.—

It is out of all controversy, that there was a great revolution in Egypt about four hundred years after the flood, or a little before *Abraham's* time. *Monfieur du Pin* makes the time from the flood to *Abraham's* birth three hundred and fifty years, and about four hundred to his being called by God. It is certain also, there were kings in Egypt in *Abraham's* time: It is probable these kings were the Hicksoes, or King Shepherds, who altered the government of the ancient Egyptians, and continued about five kings reigns: for when the patriarch *Joseph* called his father and brethren into Egypt, he bid them ask the land of Goshen to inhabit; because, said he, all Shepherds are an abomination to the Egyptians: by which it appears, the Shepherds were lately driven out. In all likelihood they were these kings who introduced idolatry and the adoration of brute beasts among the Egyptians, for which reason they called them in derision, King Shepherds, or King Beasts.—The great *Bochart*, in his *Phaleg*, looks upon this revolution in Egypt to have been before *Abraham's* time, and so far from being a fiction, that he says in express words, *Casluos & Capthoræos* (whom he proves to be the people of Colchos, for all it is so far from Egypt) *ex Egypto migrasse certum est ante Abrahami tempora*: it is certain, says he, that the *Casluci* and *Capthoræi* went out of Egypt before *Abraham's* time. *Bochart Phaleg*. lib. 4. c. 31. *Herodotus* in *Euterpe* says, that the people of Colchos were originally Egyptians; tho' some say, they went back some ages after, and settled in Palestine, and were after called that *Philistines*.

(10) *Their children offered a sacrifice to those intuman deities*] These Hicksoes being in all appearance the descendants of wicked *Chanaan* or *Cush*, were so abominably impious, as to sacrifice human victims and children to their false Gods; and even were the first authors of all impiety and idolatry.

(11) *The art of making boats, &c.*] 'Tis highly probable the Egyptians had the knowledge of shipping long before the Greeks; whose finest ship was *Argo*, built by *Jason*, to fetch the golden fleece from Colchos. The first notion of shipping was undoubtedly taken from the ark. The Egyptians were necessitated to make use of boats, by reason of the annual overflowing of the river Nile, and to pass the different branches into which that famous river divides itself in the lower Egypt. The Sidonians, whom *Bochart* proves to be the descendants of *Chanaan*, had the use of shipping, as he also proves, before the children of Israel departed out of Egypt.

(12) *The lesser sea.*] Egypt is bounded on the one side by the end of the Mediterranean; on the other side by the Red-sea, dividing it from Arabia; this he calls the lesser sea, as being much narrower than the Mediterranean.

(13) This great sea, as distinguished from the less, must be the

the Mediterranean. Those who fled by that sea, must be those who went to Colchos; they could not go by land over the Isthmus, because the Hickses poured in upon them that way: we must not suppose they went all the way by sea to Colchos, quite round by the streights of Hellespont; they must cross the end of the Mediterranean, and went by land the shortest way they could, till they came to the borders of the Euxine-sea. It is almost incredible men should go so far to seek an habitation. But *Bochart* says, it is certain the people of Colchos came out of Egypt; they must therefore have been drove out by some terrible enemies. You will say, why may not this first revolution in Egypt, which *Bochart* speaks of, have been made by the great *Semiramis*, wife to *Ninus* the son of *Nimrod*? It is answered in the first place, because *Josephus* calls the first invaders of Egypt, *King Shepherds*, which cannot agree with the great heroine *Semiramis*. Secondly, because it is not credible, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of most historians, that *Ninus*, the husband of *Semiramis*, could not be so early as they make him to be, i. e. the son of *Nimrod*, but some other *Ninus* long after him; for tho' *Semiramis* conquered Egypt, and afterwards lost her army against the *Æthiopians*, this could not be soon after the flood, because historians describe that army to consist of three hundred thousand men, instructed in discipline after a military manner, armed with warlike chariots, &c. as were the *Æthiopians* against her, and even superior to her; I say, it is not credible such great armies could be raised so soon after the flood, if she was daughter-in-law to *Nimrod*, the great hunter, who was the son of *Cush*, and the great grandson to *Noah*.

(14) *Another sea,*] i. e. The Euxine sea.

(15) *The lesser sea,*] i. e. The Red-sea. There were several other revolutions in Egypt, as, by the *Æthiopians* after *Semiramis* was conquered; who were expelled again, either by the great *Sesestris*, of whom *Herodotus* relates such famous exploits, or a little before by his predecessor. The Chanaanites also, who were driven out of Palestine by *Josua*, conquered part of it, as we shall see afterwards. Long after that, it was subdued by *Nebuchodonosor*, who destroyed the renowned city of Thebes with her hundred gates. *Bochart in Ninive*. Then the Persians, under *Cambyzes* the son of *Cyrus the Great*. In fine, the Romans made a province of it in *Augustus's* Time. *Strabo* says of that famous city of Thebes, at present, says he, it is but a poor village.

Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.

Juven Sat. 15.

(16) *They came to a narrow part of it, &c.*] This must be the streights of Babelmandel, which let them into the vast eastern ocean.

(17) *They turned off to the left, &c.*] It is likely, that colony

was carried to China; for let what will come of this man's relations, there are very strong reasons to believe, that the Chinese, notwithstanding the vast distance from Egypt, came originally from that country, about the time of the invasion of the King Shepherds, which was before *Jacob* and his sons went into the land of Egypt: for whoever compares the account given by the learned bishop of Meaux, in the third part of his universal history, of the lives and manners of the first Egyptians with those of the Chinese, will find them to agree in a great many points: as 1st, their boasted antiquity—2d, their so early knowledge of arts and sciences—3d, their veneration for learned men, who have the preference before others—4th, their policy—5th, their unaccountable superstition for their deceased parents—6th, their annual visiting the family of their ancestors—7th, their peaceable dispositions—8th, their religious worship. As for this last, it is well known, the first Egyptians worshipped the sun, long before the gods *Apis*, *Isis*, and *Anubis* were introduced among them by their idolatrous invaders. And the Chinese, to this day, worship the material heaven, as is seen in the condemnation of the jesuits, by *Clem. XI*: lastly, the use of pyramids in China, which were like ancient idols among the Chinese. See the account of them* in *Moreri*.† The only difficulty is to know how they got from Egypt to China, which is not so insupportable as people may imagine. It is certain, the Egyptians, as hath been remarked, had a very early knowledge of navigation. It is certain also, that in those barbarous invasions, the invaders of kingdoms almost destroyed all before them. Since we find therefore in the most ancient histories, that there was a most terrible revolution in Egypt, about that time made by the people, whose customs the Egyptians had in abomination, the Chinese might seek their fortune by sea, and might be carried beyond the Persian gulph, till they came to Cochinchina, from whence they might get into the main continent, and so people that vast empire, preserving their ancient laws and customs inviolable. So that whatever becomes of this man's relation, 'tis extremely probable the Chinese came first from Egypt.

* i. e. Pyramids.

† Editio Clerici.

Continuation

Continuation of the Memoirs.

THE father of our nation, since we separated ourselves from the rest of the world, who was priest of the sun at No-om, (1) called afterwards by those miscreants No-Ammon, (2) because of the temple of *Hammon*, was not asleep in this general consternation; but did not as yet think they would come up so high into the land. However, he thought proper to look out for a place to secure himself and family, in case of need. He was the descendant, in a direct line, from the great *Tha-oth*; and was perfectly versed in all the learned sciences of his ancestors. He guessed there must certainly be some habitable country beyond these dreadful sands that surrounded him, if he could but find a way to it, where he might secure himself and family, at least till those troubles were over; for he did not at that time think of leaving his native country for good and all: but like a true father of his people, which the name of pophar implies, he was resolved to venture his own life, rather than expose his whole family to be lost in those dismal deserts. He had five sons and five daughters, married to as many sons and daughters of his deceased brother: (3) his two eldest sons had even grand children, but his two youngest sons as then had no children. He left the government and care of all to his eldest son, in case he should miscarry, and took his two youngest sons, who might best be spared, along with him. Having provided themselves with water for ten days, with bread and dried fruits, just enough to subsist on, he was resolved to try five days journey end-ways thro' those sands; and if he saw no hopes of making a discovery in

that time, to return again before his provisions were spent, and then try the same method towards another quarter. In short, he set out with all secrecy, and pointing his course directly westward, the better to guide himself, he came to the first grove that we arrived at, in a little more time than we took up in coming thither. Having now time enough before him, and seeing there was water and fruits in abundance, he examined the extent of that delicious vale: he found there was room enough to maintain a great many thousands in case they should increase, and be forced to stay there some generations, as in effect they did. After this they laid in provisions as before, with dates and fruits of the natural produce of the earth, finer than ever were seen in Egypt, to encourage them in their transmigration, and so set out again for his native country.

The time prefixed for his return was elapsed by his stay in viewing the country, so that his people had entirely given him for lost: but the joy for his unexpected return, with the promising hopes of such a safe and happy retreat, made them unanimously resolve to follow him. Wherefore, on the first news of the Hicksoes being in motion again, they packed up all their effects and provisions as privately as they could, but particularly all the monuments of arts and sciences left by their ancestors, with notes and observations of every part of their dear country, which they were going to leave, but hoped to see again when the storm was over. They arrived without any considerable disaster, and resolved only to live in tents till they could return into their native country.

As they increased in number, they descended further into the vale, which there began to spread itself different ways, and provided them with all necessaries and conveniences of life; so that they lived in the happiest banishment they could wish,
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but never stirred out of that vale for several years for fear of discovery. The pophar finding himself grow old (having attained almost to two hundred years of age,) and being hale and strong (4) for his years, resolved to visit his native country once more before he died, and learn what news he could for the common interest; so he and two more disguised themselves and repassed the desarts again.— They just ventured at first into the borders of the country; but, alas! when he came there, he found all the country over-run by those barbarous Hicksoes. All the poor remains of the Mezzoraniens were made slaves; and these barbarians had begun to build habitations, and establish themselves, as if they designed never more to depart the country.— They had made No-om one of their chief towns, (5) where they erected a temple to their Ram God, (6) calling it No-Hammon; (7) with such inhuman laws and cruelties, (8) as drew a flood of tears from his aged eyes. However, being a wise man, and of great foresight, he easily imagined by their tyrannical way of living, they could not last long in that state without some new revolution. When he had made what observations he could, and had visited the tombs of his forefathers, he returned to the vale, and died in that place where you saw the pyramid built to his memory.

Not many generations after, according as he had foreseen, the natives being made desperate by the tyrannical oppressions of the Hicksoes, were forced to break in upon their primitive laws, which forbade them shedding of blood; made a general insurrection, and calling in their neighbours round about, fell upon the Hicksoes when they least expected it, and drove them out of the country. They were headed by a brave man of a mixed race, his mother being a beautiful Mezzoranian, and his father a Sabeen. (9) After this young conqueror had driven
out

out the Hickfoes, he established a new form of government, making himself king over his brethren, but not after the tyrannical manner of the Hickfoes, and grew very powerful.

Our ancestors sent persons from time to time to inform themselves how matters went. They found the kingdom in a flourishing condition indeed, under the conquering *Sofs*, (10) for so he was called. He and his successors had made it one of the most powerful kingdoms of the earth; but the laws were different from what they had been in the time of our ancestors, or even from those the great *Sofs* had established. Some of his successors began to be very tyrannical; they made slaves of their brothers, and invented a new religion; some adoring the sun, some the gods of the Hickfoes, so that our ancestors, tho' they might have returned again, as they could not think of altering their laws, chose rather to continue still unknown in that vale under their patriarchal government. Nevertheless, in process of time they increased so much, that the country was not capable of maintaining them, so that they had been obliged to return had not another revolution in Egypt forced them to seek out a new habitation. This change was made by a race of people called Cnanim, (11) as wicked and barbarous in effect, but more politic than the Hickfoes; tho' some said originally they were the same people, who being driven out of their own country, by others more powerful than themselves, came pouring in, not only over all the land of Mezream, but all along the coast of both seas, destroying all before them, with greater abominations than the Hickfoes had ever been guilty of; a faithless and most perfidious race of men that corrupted the innocent manners (12) of the whole earth. Here our fore-fathers were in the most dreadful consternation imaginable. There was now no prospect of ever returning into their ancient country :

country : they were furrounded with defarts on all sides : the place they were in began to be too narrow for so many thousands as they were encreased to; nay, they did not know but the wicked Cnanim, the boldest and most enterprising nation under the sun (13) might find them out some time or other. —Being in this distress, they resolved to seek out a new habitation; and to this end they compared all the notes and observations on the heavens, the course of the sun, the seasons and nature of the climate, and whatever else might direct them what course to steer. They did not doubt but that there might be some habitable countries in the midst of those vast desarts, perhaps as delicious as the vale they lived in, if they could but come at them. They sent out some persons to make discoveries, but without success: the sands were too vast to travel over without water, and they could find no springs nor rivers. At length the most sagacious of them began to reflect, that the annual overflowing of the great river Nile, whose head could never be found out, must proceed from some prodigious rains which fell somewhere southward of them about that time of the year; which rains, if they could but luckily time and meet with, might not only supply them with water, but also render the country fertile where they fell.

Accordingly the chief pophar, assisted with some of the wisest men, generously resolved to run all risques to save his people. They computed the exact season when the Nile overflowed, and allowed for the time the waters must take in coming down so far as Egypt. They thought therefore, if they could but carry water enough to supply them till they met with these rains, they would help them to go on further. At length five of them set out with ten dromedaries, carrying as much water and provisions as might serve them for fifteen days to bring them back again in case there were no hopes. They
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steered their course as we did, tho' not quite so exact the first time, till they came to the place where we are now. Here, as their observations tell us (4) they found a little rivulet, which is since swallowed up by the sands; they filled their vessels, and went up to observe as we did; but seeing the signs of the great hurricanes, that which was our greatest encouragement, had like to have driven them into despair; for the pophar knowing the danger of being overwhelmed in the sands, thought of nothing but flying back as fast as he could, fearing to be swallowed up in those stifling whirlpools. This apprehension made him lay aside all thoughts of proceeding towards that climate; and now his chief care was how to get back again with safety for himself and his people. But finding all continue tolerably serene where they were, they made a halt in order to make some further observations. In the mean time, they reflected that those hurricanes must be forerunners of tempests and rain; then they remembered that no rain, or what was very inconsiderable, ever fell in Egypt, (15) or for a great way south of it, till they came within the tropics; so they concluded that the rains must run parallel with the equator, both under it, and for some breadth on both sides, till they met the rise of the river Nile, and there caused those vast inundations, that were so hard to be accounted for by other people: that in fine, those rains must continue a considerable while, and probably, tho' beginning with tempests, might continue in settled rain capable of being passed thro': then he had first resolved to venture back again to the first vale; but being a man of great prudence, he presently considered, that as he could not proceed on his way without rains, so he could not come back again but by the same help, which coming only at one season, must take up a whole year before he could return. However, he was resolved to venture

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on, not boubting if he could but find a habitable country, he should also find fruits enough to subsist on, till the next season : therefore, he ordered two of his companions to return the same way they came to tell his people not to expect him till the next year, if providence should bring him back again : but if he did not return by the time of the overflowing of the Nile, or thereabouts, then they might give him over for lost, and must never attempt that way any more. They took their leave of one another, as if it were the last adieu, and set out at the same time ; two of them for their home in the first vale, and the other three for those unknown regions, being destitute of all other helps but that of a courageous mind. The three came back to this place, where it thundered and lightened as it does now : but the pöphar observed it still tended side-ways, and guessed, when the first violence was over, the rains might be more settled. The next day it fell out as he foresaw ; as soon as he perceived that, he recommended himself to the great author of our being, and launched boldly out into that vast ocean of sands and rain, steering his course southwest, rather inclining towards the south. They went as far as the heavy sands and rains would let them, till their dromedaries could hardly go any further : then they pitched their tents and refreshed themselves just enough to undergo new labour, well knowing all their lives depended on their expedition. They observed the sands to be of a different kind from what they had been hitherto, so fine, that any gust of wind must overwhelm man and beast, only the rains had clogged and laid them.

Not to prolong your expectation too much, thus they went on for ten days, till the rains began to abate, then they saw their lives or deaths would soon be determined. The eleventh day the ground began to grow harder in patches, with here and there a
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little moss on the surface, and now and then a small withered shrub. This revived their hopes, that they should find good land in a short time, and in effect the soil changed for the better every step they took; and now they began to see little hills covered with grass, and the valleys sink down as if there might be brooks and rivers. The twelfth and thirteenth days cleared all their doubts, and brought them into a country, which tho' not very fertile, had both water and fruits, with a hopeful prospect further on of hills and dales, all habitable and flourishing. Here they fell prostrate on the earth, adoring the creator of all things, who had conducted them safe thro' so many dangers, and kissing the ground which was to be their common nurse, for them, and, as they hoped, for all their posterity. When they had reposed themselves for some days, they proceeded further into the country, which they found to mend upon them the more they advanced into it. They knew they were not to return till next year, so they sought the properest place for their habitation. They set up marks at every moderate distance not to lose their way back again. They made for the highest hills they could see, from whence they perceived an immense and delicious country every way; but to their greater satisfaction, no inhabitants. They wandered thus at pleasure thro' those natural gardens, where there was a perpetual spring in some kinds of the produce of the earth, and the ripeness of autumn with the most exquisite fruits in others.—They kept the most exact observations possible, which ever way they went: there were not only springs and fountains in abundance, but as they guessed, for they kept the higher ground, the heads of great rivers and lakes, some of which they saw, till they were satisfied there was room enough for whole nations without any danger, as they could find, of being disturbed. By their observation of
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the sun, they were nigher the equator than they had imagined, (16) so that they there passed the middle space between the tropic and the line. Being come back to their first station, they there waited the proper season for their return. The rains came something sooner than the year before, because they were further westward. The hurricanes were nothing like what they were in the vast sands. As soon as they began to fix in settled rains, they set out again as before, and in twenty days time, from their last setting out, happily arrived at the place where they left their dear friends and relations, whose joy for their safe and happy arrival was greater than I can pretend to describe.

Thus this immortal hero accomplished his great undertaking, so much more glorious than all the victories of the greatest conquerors, as it was projected, formed and executed by his own wisdom and courage; not by exposing and sacrificing the lives of thousands of his subject, perhaps greater men than himself, but by exposing his own life for the safety of those that depended on him.

Remarks of Signor Rhedi.

(1) *Priest of No-om.*] No-om, or No-on, signifies Mezzorania, or in the old Egyptian language, the house of the sun.— Their words are made up of monosyllables, put together like the Chinese, which is another reason why the Chinese ought to be looked upon as a colony of the Egyptians. *Vide* the remarks of the foregoing part of this relation. The patriarch *Joseph* married the daughter of the priest of On; which several learned men say, is the same with Heliopolis, or city of the sun. From *No*, comes the Egyptian *Nmer*, or divisions of the country, which the great *No-*

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chart,

ebort, in his *Phaleg*. says is an Egyptian, not a Greek word, tho' *Dynasty* is Greek. *Bochart*, lib. 4. c. 24. Hence very likely came the Nomades and Numidæ, from their wandering and frequently changing their habitation, or names; the first and most ancient of all nations lived thus.

(2) *Called it No-bam or No-Hammon,*] That is, the house or temple of *Ham* or *Hammon*; or *Chameen* or *Chum*, as *Bochart* varies it. This *Ham* was the Tyrian *Jupiter*, and in this place was afterwards situated the great city of Thebes, as has been observed before; called by the Greeks, *Diospolis*, or, the city of *Jupiter*. *Cadmus*, who was of Thebes, in Palestine, being driven out from thence by *Jeshua*, built it, but was driven out from it, and forced to retire to Tyre, from whence he conducted a colony of Tyrians, or banished Chanaanites, into Beotia, where he built Thebes also, or rather the citadel of Thebes, called *Cadmeia*. *Vide Bochart*, in *Cadmus* and *Hermione*; which last, the same author says, came originally from Mount *Hermion*, in Palestine; and as that word in the Chanaanite language signifies a serpent, from hence arose the fable of the serpent's teeth turning into men. The temple of *Jupiter-Ammon*, or *Hammon*, in Africa, was built by the Chananian, who spread themselves from Egypt into Lybia.

(3) It is certain that the ancients, particularly the Eastern nations, married their nigh relations as well as the Jews, to keep up their names or tribes: but we don't find in history that they married their own sisters, till the Persian kings, who were condemned for it by the Greeks. The Egyptians, under the *Ptolemies*, followed that barbarous custom, tho' they began with *Ptolemy Lagus*, one of the captains of *Alexander*; the Yncæ's in America did the same, not to prophane their blood, as they said, with other mixtures.

(4) *Hale and strong, &c.*] The regular lives of the first Egyptians, and of these people descended from them; together with the climate, their diet of fruits and liquors, their exemption from violent passions, without being corrupted by the spurious spawn of other nations, and the like, might contribute very much to the length of their lives and strength proportionably. The *Macrobii*, or Long Livers, a people of *Æthiopia*, and a colony of the ancient Egyptians, lived to a vast age, and were called *Macrobii* from their long lives. See *Herodotus* of the *Æthiopiæ*, and what he says of their strength in the bow they sent to *Cambyfes*, when he had denounced war against them; saying, that when he could bend that bow, he might make war against them; which bow only *Smerdis*, *Cambyfes*'s brother, could bend; and for that reason was afterwards put to death by his brother, out of envy.

(5) *A town of No-om, &c.*] It seems Thebes, tho' afterwards such a prodigious city, was then but the head of the name of that span's family.

(6) *Their*

(6) *Their Ram God, &c.*] *Jupiter Hammon*, whom *Bechart* proves to have been *Ham* or *Cham*, the son of *Noah*, was represented with a ram's head, which was held in such abomination by the first Egyptians, from whence they called those first invaders *Hicksoes*.

(7) *No-Hammon.*] The house of the Ram God.

(8) *Inhuman Laws, &c.*] It is likely he means *Eufyridis Arac*, so infamous in antiquity; or the cruel *Bufris*, who sacrificed his guests. Tho' historians don't agree about the time when *Bufris* lived, which shews he was very ancient, yet all agree he was a monster of cruelty, and became a proverb on that account. This was a very natural reason for the Egyptians to disperse themselves into so many colonies, as they did to avoid such cruelties.

(9) *A Sabæan.*] These Sabæans were the descendants of some of the sons of *Chus*, or *Chusi*, a very tall race of men, great navigators, and more polite than the other Arabians. *Bechart* in *Saba filio Chus*, where he quotes a passage out of *Agatharcides* of the handfomness of the Sabæans,

"The bodies of the inhabitants (the Sabæans) are more majestic than other men."

(10) *The conquering Sesi.*] This must be the great *Sesestris* or *Sesosis*, of whom the learned bishop of Meaux, as also *Herodotus*, say such glorious things. Tho' authors don't say precisely when he lived, all acknowledge him to have flourished in the earliest times. He extended his conquests over the greatest part of the East, and almost over the known world, as some say: where his enemies were cowardly, and made no resistance, he set up statues of them resembling women. *Herodot.* lib. 2. *Euterpa. Monf. de Meaux*, Par. 3. Hist. Uni. This great conqueror's name is very much varied by authors.

(11) *Called Cnanim, or Chanani.*] These in all appearance were the wicked Chananæans, who being to be destroyed, and being driven out of Chanaan by *Jesbus*, dispersed themselves, and invaded the greatest part of the countries round about them. *Bechart*, in Chanaan, proves almost demonstrably, that they dispersed themselves over all the islands and sea-ports of Europe, Asia, and Africa. In his preface he quotes a most curious passage out of *Procopius de Bello Vandalico*, of a pillar that was found in Africa, with a Phenician or Chananæan inscription, which signifies;

"We are those who fled from the face of *Jesus*, or *Jesbus* the robber, the son of *Nave*."

Eusebius, in *Chronico*, has much the same; and *St. Augustin*, in his *City of God*, says that the ancient country people about

Hippo, in Africa, who were the remains of the ancient Carthaginians, if you asked them who they were, would answer, we are originally Chanani or Chanancans.

(12) *Corrupted the innocent manners, &c.*] The celebrated *Bocbart*, so often quoted, proves that the Phenicians, or Carthaginians, whom he also proves to have been Chanancans, were the persons who spread idolatry with all the tribe of the heathen gods, and their abominable rites, over the whole world. *Bocbart* in Chanaan. The same author says, the Phenicians, or Chanani, did invade Egypt about that very time; this he proves directly, and that they had their castra about Memphis: as also, that *Cadmus* and *Phenix*, whom he makes contemporaries with *Josua*, having fled before him, came out of Egypt afterwards, and built Thebes in Ecotia. See also *Herodotus* in Eutcrpe.

(13) *The most enterprising nation under the sun, &c.*] *Herodotus* says, that they sailed (even in those early days) from the Red Sea round Africa, and came back to Egypt thro' the streights and up the Mediterranean. *Herodot.* *Melpomene*, and *Bocbart*. That *Hanno* the elder, by order of the senate of Carthage, sailed round the greatest part of the world, and after his return, delivered into them an account of his voyage, which is called, the *Periplus of Hanno*: he affected to be honored as a god for it, and lived before *Solomon's* time. *Bocbart* in Chanaan, lib. 1. c. 37. Chanaan.

(14) *As their observations tell us.*] Those wise ancients kept records of every thing that was memorable and useful for their people. If this had been the practice of the Europeans, we should not have lost so many secrets of nature as we have.

(15) *No rain fell in Egypt.*] This is well known by all the descriptions of that country, the inundation of the Nile supplying the want it, and making it one of the most fertile kingdoms in the world: every one knows it was once the granary of the Roman empire. However, some small rain falls sometimes; nor is there any more higher up in the country. The overflowing of the Nile is known to be caused by vast rains falling under the line, or about that climate; and since these don't take Egypt and the adjoining part of Africa in their way, they must by consequence run parallel with the line, which was a very natural and philosophical observation of these wise men.

(16) *They were nigher the equator than they imagined, &c.*] Though we may imagine a lesser circle parallel to the tropics and the equator, which is called *maximus parallelorum*; yet whoever travels either by land or sea, as he thinks parallel to the equator, does not do so, but will approach to it; nay, and cross it at last, unless he goes spirally and makes indentures as he goes along; the reason is, because wherever we are, we are on the summit of the globe with respect to us, and our feet make a perpendicular to the centre; so that if we go round the globe, we shall make a great circle, and by consequence cut the equator.

Continuation

Continuation of the Memoirs.

IT were too tedious to recount to you all the difficulties and troubles they had, both in resolving to undertake such a hazardous transmigration; as well as those of transporting such a multitude, with their wives and children, and all their most precious effects, over those merciless sands; which they could only pass at one season of the year. But the voyage being at length resolved on, and the good pophar wisely considering the difficulties, necessity, the mother of invention, urging him; at the same time, to gain as much time as he could, since the vale where they were at present was sufficient to maintain them till the rains came, got all his people hither in the mean time, to be ready for the season. The newborn children were left with their mothers and people to take care of them, till they were able to bear the fatigue. Thus, in seven years time, going backwards and forwards every season, they all arrived safe, where we ourselves hope to be in ten or twelve days time. This great hero we deservedly honor, as another Meftaim, the second founder of our nation, from whose loins you yourself sprung by the surer side, and are going to be incorporated again with the offspring of your first ancestors."

Here he ended his relation, and your reverences may easily believe I was in the greatest admiration at this unheard-of account. As it raised the ideas I had of the people, so I could not be sorry to find myself, young and forlorn as I was before, incorporated with, and allied to such a flourishing and civilized nation. My expectation was not disproportionate to my ideas: I was persuaded I was going

into a very fine country; but the thoughts of their being pagans left some little damp on my spirits, and was a draw-back to my expected happiness. However I was resolved to preserve my religion, at the expense of all that was dear to me, and even of my life itself.

By this time the pophar ordered us to refresh ourselves, and prepare all things for our departure, tho' the storm of thunder and lightning did not cease till towards morning. At length all things were ready for motion, so we marched easily on till we came into the course of the rains. It was the most settled and downright rain (as the saying is) that ever I saw: every thing seemed to be as calm as the tempest was violent before. They being accustomed to it, had provided open vessels on each side of the dromedaries, to catch enough for their use, as it fell, with that fine oiled cloth I mentioned before, over themselves and beasts. All the sands were laid, and even beaten hard by the rains, tho' heavy and cloggy at the same time. We made as much way as ever we could for five days, just resting and refreshing ourselves when it was absolutely necessary. I must own, nothing could be more dismal than those dreary solitary deserts, where we could neither see sun nor moon, but had only a gloomy, malignant light, just sufficient to look at the needle, and take our observations. On the sixth day we thought we saw something move sideways of us, on our right hand, but seemingly passing by us, when one of the young men cried, "there they are," and immediately crossed down to them; then we perceived them to be persons travelling like ourselves, crossing in the same manner up towards us. I was extremely surprised to find that those deserts were known to any but ourselves: but the pophar soon put me out of pain, by telling me, they were some of their own people, taking the same season to go for Egypt, and on the same

same account. By this time we were come up to one another. The leader of the other caravan, with all his company, immediately got off their dromedaries, and fell prostrate on the earth before our pophar; at which he stepped back, and cried, "alas! is our father dead? They told him, yes; and that he being the first of the second line, was to be regent of the kingdom till the young pophar, who was born when his father was an old man, should come to the age of fifty. Then our people got off, and prostrated themselves before him,* all but myself; they took no notice of my neglect, seeing me a supernumerary person, and consequently a stranger; but as soon as the ceremonies were over, came and embraced me, and welcomed me into their brotherhood with the most sincere cordiality, as if I had been one of their nation. The pophar soon told them what I was, which made them repeat their careffes with new extasies of joy peculiar to those people. After re-iterated enquiries concerning their friends, and assurances that all was well, except what they told him, the pophar asked them, how they came to direct their course so much on the left hand, expecting to have met them the day before; and they seeming to point as if they were going out of their way: they told us they were now sensible of it, and were making up for the true road as fast as they could; but the day before they had like to have lost themselves by the darkness of the weather, and their too great security; for, bearing too much on the left hand, one of their dromedaries floundered, as if he were got into a quicksand: (1) the rider thinking it had been nothing but some looser part of the sand, thought to go on, but fell deeper the further he went, till the commander ordered him to get off immediately, which he did with so much haste,

* The Eastern manner of shewing respect.

haste, not minding his dromedary, that the poor beast going on further into the quicksand, was lost. Then the pophar told them, there was such a place marked down in their ancient charts, which, being so well acquainted with the roads, they had never minded of late years: that he supposed those quicksands to be either the rains, which had sunk thro' the sands, and meeting with some strata of clay, stagnated, and were forming a lake; or more probably, it was the course of some distant river, rising perhaps out of a habitable country, at an unknown distance, but had lost itself in those immense sands. However, he congratulated them for their escape, and like a tender father, gently chid them for their too great security in that boundless ocean.

Our time not permitting us to stay long, each caravan set out again for their destined course, having but five or six days journey to make, that is, as far as we could travel in so many days and so many nights, for we never stopped but to refresh ourselves. The rains had so tempered the air, that is was rather cold than hot, especially the nights, which grew longer as we approached the line. Here we steered our course more to the west again, but not so as to leave the ridge of the world. I observed the more we kept to the west, the more moderate the rains were, as indeed they slackened in proportion as we came nigher our journey's end; because coming from the west, or at least with a little point of the south, they began sooner than where we set out.— The tenth day of our journey, I mean from the last grove or resting place, one of our dromedaries failed. We had changed them several times before, to make their labour more equal: they would not let it die for the good it had done; but two of the company, having water enough, and knowing where they were, stood behind to bring it along with them.— We now found the nature of the sands and soil begin

gin to change, as the pophar had informed me: the ground began to be covered with a little mofa, tending toward a greensward, more like barren downs than sands; and I perceived in some places unexpectedly, instead of those barren gravelly sands, large spaces of tolerable good soil. (2) At length to our inexpressible joy and comfort, at least for myself, who could not but be in some suspense in such an unknown world, we came to patches of trees and grass, with flanting falls and heads of vales which seemed to enlarge themselves beyond our view. (3) The rains were come to their period; only it looked a little foggy at a great distance before us, which was partly from the exhalations of the country after the rains, (4) partly from the trees and hills stopping the clouds, by which we found that the weather did not clear up in the habitable countries so soon as in the barren desarts. The pophar told me, that if it were not for the haziness of the air, he would shew me the most beautiful prospect that ever my eyes beheld. I was sensibly convinced of it by the perfumes of the spicy shrubs and flowers, which struck our senses with such a reviving fragrantcy, as made us almost forget our past fatigue, especially me, who had not felt the like even in the first vale; neither do I believe, all the odours of the happy Arabia could ever come up to it. I was just as if I had risen out of the most delicious repose. Here the pophar ordered us to stop for refreshment, and added, we must stay there till the next day. We pitched our tents on the last descent of those immense bars, by the side of a little rill that issued out of the small break of the downs, expecting further orders.

Remarks

Remarks of Signor Rhedi.

(1) *As if he were got into a quicksand, &c.*] Persons may wonder to hear of quicksands in the midst of the sun-burnt deserts of Africa; but the thing will not seem so improbable when we come to examine the reason of it. Without doubt, our author does not mean such quicksands as are caused by the coming in of the tide under the sands; a man of sense would be incapable of such a blunder. But that there should be some stagnating waters in the low swamps of the sands, is so far from being incredible, that it can hardly be thought to be otherwise. It is very well known there are vast lakes in some parts of Africa, which have no visible outlets. There are rivers also that lose themselves in the sands, where sinking under for some time, they may form sandy marshes, or quicksands, as the author calls them.

(2) It was observed in some of the former remarks, that not only the deserts of Africa, but all the strata, or great beds of gravel, which are found in all parts of the world, probably were caused by the universal deluge: nor can they be well accounted for otherwise. The deeper the beds of gravel are, the more they shew, by the heterogeneous stuff lodged with them; that they were brought thither, not produced there *ab origine*. The vast falls and gulleets, which are seen on the skirts of all the mountains in the world, evidently shew they were caused by some violent agitation, which carried the looser earth and small stones along with it; for which nothing can be more natural than the supposition of a flood, or agitated fluid, which, by its violence and shakings, carried all that was moveable before it for some time. This gravel was incorporated with the loose earth before the flood; and was carried to and fro, while the waters were in their greatest agitation, washing and melting the loose earth from the gravel and stones. But when the waters came to their highest pitch, and began to subside, the stones and gravel would sink sooner than lighter things, and so be left almost in a body in those strata they appear in. This might be illustrated much further if there were occasion. The vast numbers of petrified shells and scallops, which are found in all parts of the world, on the higher grounds, could never be a mere *lusus naturæ*, as some too curious philosophers imagine, but must be accounted for by such a flood; and these appearing in all parts of the universe, the flood must have been universal. The sudden change of soils in every region, with the exceeding richness of some more than others, and that too sometimes all at once, is to be accounted for from the same cause; for the same violence of waters washing the earth from the stones, must naturally make an unequal accumulation of both.

both. As for Africa, all the ancients speak of the incredible fertility of it in some places, and the extreme barrenness of the deserts in others.

(3) The prodigious height of the sands in Africa, in those parts which lye between the tropics, may not only be the cause of the sands or gravel sinking in greater quantities at the decrease of the flood, but the most extensive valleys may have their rise from very small gullets at first.

(4) It is very natural to think, that those barren sun-baked deserts send up but few exhalations.

Continuation of the Memoirs.

THE cause of our stay in that place was not only our companions we had left behind us, (now we were out of danger) but on a ceremonious account, as your reverences will see by and by: they were also to change their habits, that they might appear in the colours of their respective tribe or name, which were five, according to the number of the sons of the first pophar, who brought them out of Egypt, whose statue we saw at the pyramid.

By their laws, all the tribes are to be distinguished by their colours; that wherever they go, they may be known what name they belong to, with particular marks of their posts and dignities, as I shall describe to your reverences hereafter. The grand pophar's colour, who was descended from the eldest son of the ancient pophar, was a flame colour, or approaching nigh the rays of the sun, because he was chief priest of the sun. Our new regent's colour was green, spangled with suns of gold, as your reverences saw in the picture: the green represent-
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ing the spring, which is the chief season with them; the third colour is a fiery red for the summer; the fourth is yellow for autumn; and the fifth purple, representing the gloominess of winter; for these people acknowledging the sun for the immediate governor of the universe, mimic the nature of his influence as nigh as they can. The women observe the colours of their respective tribes, but have moons of silver intermixt with the suns, to shew that they are influenced in a great measure by that variable planet. The young virgins have the new moon; in the strength of their age, the full moon; as they grow old, the moon is in the decrease proportionably; the widows have the moon expressed just as it is in the change; the descendants of the daughters of the first pophar, were incorporated with the rest; those of the eldest daughter, took the eldest son's colour, with a mark of distinction, to shew they were never to succeed to the popharship, or regency, till there should be no male issue of the others at age to govern. This right of eldership, as these people understand it, is a little intricate, but I shall explain it to your reverences more at large when I come to speak more particularly of their government. When they are sent out into foreign countries, they take what habit or colour they please, and generally go all alike to be known to each other; but they must not appear in their own country but in their proper colours, it is criminal to do otherwise, with marks also of their families, that in case any misdemeanor should be committed, they may know where to trace it out, for which reason, now they drew near their own country, they were to appear in the colours of their respective names; all but myself, who had the same garment I wore at Grand Cairo, to shew I was a stranger, tho' I wore the pophar's colours afterwards, as being his relation, and incorporated in his family.

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When they were all arrayed in their silken colours, spangled with suns of gold, with white fillets round their temples, studded with precious stones, they made a very delightful shew, being the handsomest race of people this day in the universe, and all resembling each other, as having no mixture of other nations in their blood.

The sun now had broke thro' the clouds, and discovered to us the prospect of the country; but such a one as I am not able to describe; it looked rather like an immense garden than a country: at that distance I could see nothing but trees and groves; whether I looked towards the hills or vales, all seemed to be one continued wood, tho' with some seemingly regular intervals of squares and plains, with the glittering of golden globes or suns thro' the tops of the trees, that it looked like a green mantle spangled with gold. I asked the pophar if they lived all in woods, or whether the country was only one continued immense forest: he smiled, and said, when we come thither you shall see something else besides woods, and then bid me look back and compare the dreary sands we had lately passed with that glorious prospect we saw before us: I did so, and found the dismal barrenness of the one enhanced the beautiful delight of the other. "The reason," says he, "why it looks like a wood, is, that besides innumerable kinds of fruits, all our towns, squares and streets, as well as fields and gardens, are planted with trees both for delight and conveniency, tho' you will find spare ground enough for the produce of all things sufficient to make the life of man easy and happy. The glittering of gold thro' the top of the trees, are golden suns on the tops of the temples and buildings; we build our houses flat and low on account of hurricanes, with gardens of perfumed ever-greens on the top of them, which is the reason you see nothing but groves."

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We descended gradually from off the desert thro' the scattered shrubs, and were saluted every now and then with a gale of perfumes, quite different from what are brought us Europeans from foreign parts. The fresh air of the morning, together with their being exhaled from the living flocks, gave them such a fragrancy as cannot be expressed. At length we came to a spacious plain a little shelving, and covered with a greenish coat, between moss and grass, which was the utmost border of the desert, and beyond it a small river collected from the hills, as it were weeping out of the sands in different places, which river was the boundary of the kingdom that way. Here we made a halt, and perceived a small company of ten persons, equal to our number, except myself, advancing gravely towards us; they were in the proper colours of the nomes, with spangled suns of gold, as my companions wore, only the tops of their heads were sprinkled with dust in sign of mourning. As soon as they came at a due distance, they fell flat on their faces before the pophar, without saying a word, and received the golden urns, with the earth we brought along with us. Then they turned and marched directly before us, holding the urns as high in their hands as they could, but all in a deep and mournful silence. These were deputies of the five nomes sent to meet the urns. We advanced in this silent manner, without saying one word, till we came to the river, over which was a stately bridge with a triumphal arch on the top of it, beautified with suns of gold most magnificent to behold. Beyond the bridge, we immediately passed thro' a kind of a circular grove, which led us into a most delightful plain like an amphitheatre, with five avenues of streets leading to it: at the entrance of each avenue stood an innumerable number of people, representing the five nomes, or governments of those immense kingdoms, all in their different colours, spangled with

with suns of gold, which made the most glorious shew in the world. As soon as ever we entered the amphitheatre, our silence was broke by shouts of joy that rended the very skies; then the whole multitude fell flat on their faces adoring the urns, and repeating their shouts and adorations thrice; there advanced ten triumphant chariots, according to the colours of the nomes, with suns as before; nine of the chariots were drawn by six horses each, and the tenth with eight for the pophar regent. The five deputies, who were the chief of each nome, with the urns and companions, mounted five of the chariots, the other five were for us, two in a chariot, only myself, being a supernumerary was placed backwards in the pophar's chariot, which he told me was the only mark of humiliation and inequality I would receive. We were conducted by five squadrons of horse, of fifty each, in their proper colours, with streamers of the same, having the sun in the centre, thro' the opposite avenue, till we came into another amphitheatre of a vast extent, where we saw an infinite number of tents of silk of the colour of the nomes, all of them spangled with golden suns; here we were to rest and refresh ourselves. The pophar's tent was in the centre of his own colour, which was green, the second nome in dignity, in whose dominions and government we now were. I have been longer in this description, because it was more a religious ceremony than any thing else, these people being extremely mysterious in all they do. (1.) I shall explain the meaning to your reverences as briefly as I can. The stopping before we came to the bridge on the borders of those inhospitable deserts, and walking in that mournful silent manner, not only expressed their mourning for their deceased ancestors, but also signified the various calamity and labour incident to human life, where he not only ought to be, but really is, in a state of banishment

nishment and mourning; wandering in sun-burnt deserts, and tossed with the storms of innumerable lawless desires, still fighting after a better country. The passage over the bridge, they would have to betoken man's entrance into rest by death; their shouts of joy, when the sacred urns arrived in that glorious country, not only signified the happiness of the next life, (for these people universally believe the immortality of the soul, and think none but brutes can be ignorant of it) but also that their ancestors, whose burial dust they brought along with them, were now in a place of everlasting rest.

INQUISITOR.—I hope you don't believe so of heathens, let them be ever so moral men, since we have no assurance of happiness in the next life mentioned in the holy scripture, without faith in *Christ*.

GAUDENTIO.—No, reverend fathers; I only mention the mysteries of these men's religion, as they understand them. As I believe in *Christ* I know there is no other name under heaven by which man may be saved.

INQUISITOR.—Go on.

GAUDENTIO.—Every ceremony of these people has some mystery or other included in it; tho' there did not appear any harm in any of them, except their falling prostrate before the dust, which looked like rank idolatry; but they said still, they meant no more than what was merely civil, to signify their respect for deceased parents. (2) I shall not as yet detain your reverences with the description of the beauties of the country thro' which we passed, having so much to say of the more substantial part; that is, of their form of government, laws and customs, both religious and civil; nor describe their prodigious magnificence, tho' joined with a great deal of natural simplicity, in their towns, temples, schools, colleges, &c. because, being built mostly alike, except for particular uses, manufactories, and the

the like, I shall describe them all in one, when I come to the great city of Phor, otherwise called in their sacred language, No-om; (3) for if I should stay to describe the immense riches, fertility, and beauties of the country, this relation, which is designed as a real account of a place wherein I lived so many years, would rather look like a romance than a true relation. I shall only tell your reverences at present, that after having taken a most magnificent repast, consisting of all the heart of man can conceive delicious both of fruits and wines, while we staid in those refreshing tabernacles, we passed on by an easy evening's journey to one of their towns, always conducted and lodged in that triumphant manner, till we came to the head of that nome, which I told your reverences was the green nome, belonging to the pophar regent, and second in dignity of the whole empire. Here the urn of dust belonging to that nome was reposit in a kind of golden tabernacle set with precious stones of immense value, in the centre of a spacious temple, which I shall describe afterwards. After a week's feasting and rejoicing, both for the reception of the dust and the safe return of the pophar and his companions, together with his exaltation to the regency, we set out in the same manner for the other nomes, to reposit all the urns in their respective temples: these are five, as I informed your reverences before. The country is something mountainous, particularly under the line, and not very uniform, tho' every thing else is; containing vallies, or rather whole regions running out between the desarts; besides vast ridges of mountains in the heart of the country, which inclose immense riches in their bowels. The chief town is situated as high as possible in the middle of the nomes, and about the center of the country, bating those irregularities I mentioned. The four inferior nomes were like the four corners, and

the flame coloured nome, where the grand pophar and regent *pro tempore* resided, in the centre of the square. Their method was, to go to the four inferior nomes first and reposit the urns, and then to complete all at the chief town of the first nome. These nomes were each about eight days very easy journey over. Thus we went the round of all, which I think, as I remarked, was a kind of political visitation at the same time. At length we came to the great city of Phor, or No-om, there to reposit the last urn, and for all the people to pay their respects to the grand pophar, if in being, or else to the regent. By that time, what with those who accompanied the procession of the urns, and the inhabitants of that immense town, so many people were gathered together, as one would have almost thought had not been in all the world beside; but in such order and decency distinguished in their ranks, tribes and colours, as is not easy to be comprehended. The glittering tents spread themselves over the face of the earth. I shall here give your reverences a description of the town, because all other great towns, or heads of the nomes, are built after that model, as indeed the lesser towns come as nigh it as they can, except, as I said, places for arts or trades, which are generally built on rivers or brooks for conveniency; such is the nature of the people, that they affect an exact uniformity and equality in all they do, as being brothers of the same flock.

The town of Phor, that is, the Glory or No-om, which signifies, the house of the sun, is built circular, in imitation of the sun and its rays. It is situated in the largest plain of all the kingdom, and upon the largest river, which is about as big as our Po, rising from a ridge of mountains under the line, and runs towards the north, where it forms a great lake, almost like a sea, whose waters are exhaled by the heat of the sun, having no outlet, or sink under ground,

ground, in the sands of the vast deserts encompassing it. This river is cut into a most magnificent canal, running directly thro' the middle of the town. Before it enters the town, to prevent inundations, and for other conveniencies, there are prodigious basons, locks and sluices, with collateral canals, to divert and let out the water, if need be. The middle stream forms the grand canal, which runs thro' the town till it comes to the grand place; then there is another lock and sluice, dividing it into two semicircles or wings, and carrying it round the grand place, forming an island with the temple of the sun in the centre, and meeting again opposite to where it divided, and so goes on in a canal again. There are twelve bridges with one great arch over each, ten over the circular canals, and two where they divide and meet again. There are also bridges over the strait canals, at proper distances. Before the river enters the town, it is divided by the first great lock into two prodigious semicircles, encompassing the whole town. All the canals are planted with double rows of cedars, and walks the most delightful that can be imagined. The grand place is in the centre of the town, a prodigious round, or immense theatre, encompassed with the branches of the canal, and in the centre of that, the temple of the sun. This temple consists of three hundred and sixty five double marble pillars, according to the number of the days of the year, (4) repeated with three stories one above another, and on the top, a cupola open to the sky for the sun to be seen thro'; the pillars are all of the Corinthian order, (5) of a marble as white as snow, and fluted; the edges of the flutes, with the capitals cornished, are all gilt. The inner roofs of the vast galleries on these pillars, are painted with the sun, moon, and stars, expressing their different motions, with hieroglyphics, known but to some few of the chief elders or rulers. The outsid

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are doubly gilt, as is the dome, or grand concave on the top, open in the middle to the sky. In the middle of this concave is a golden sun, hanging in the void, and supported by golden lines or rods from the edges of the dome, the artificial sun looks down, as if it were shining on a globe or earth, erected on a pedestral altar-wise opposite to the sun, according to the situation of their climate to that glorious planet; in which globe or earth are inclosed the urns of their deceased ancestors. On the inside of the pillars are the seats of the grandees or elders, to hold their councils, which are all public. Opposite to the twelve great streets, are so many entrances into the temple, with as many magnificent stair-cases between the entrances, to go into the galleries or places where they keep the registers of their laws, &c. with gilt balustrades looking down into the temple. On the pedestals of all the pillars were engraven hieroglyphics and characters, known to none but the five chief pophars, and communicated under the greatest secrecy to the successor of any one of them in case of death, loss of senses, and the like. I presume, the grand secrets, and arcana of state, and, it may be, of their religion, arts and sciences, are contained therein. The most improper decorations of the temple, in my opinion, are the flutings of the pillars, which rather look too finical for the august and majestic simplicity affected by these people in other respects.

The fronts of the houses round the grand place are all concave, or segments of circles, except where the great streets meet, which are twelve in number according to the twelve signs of the zodiac, pointing to the temple in strait lines like rays to the centre. This vast round is set with double rows and circles of stately cedars before the houses, at an exact distance, as are all the streets on each side, like so many beautiful avenues, which produces a most delightful

delightful effect to the eye, as well as conveniency of shade. The cross streets are so many parallel circles round the grand place and temple, as the centre, making greater circles as the town enlarges itself. They build always circular-ways till the circle is complete; then another, and so on. All the streets, as I said, both straight and circular are planted with double rows of cedars. The middle of the areas between the cuttings of the streets, are left for gardens and other conveniencies, enlarging themselves as they proceed from the centre or grand place. At every cutting of the streets, is a lesser circular space set round with trees, adorned with fountains, or statues of famous men; that, in effect, the whole town is like a prodigious garden, distinguished with temples, pavilions, avenues, and circles of greens; so that it is difficult to give your reverences a just idea of the beauty of it. I forgot to tell your reverences, that the twelve great streets open themselves as they lengthen, like the radii of a wheel, so that at the first coming into the town, you have the prospect of the temple and grand place directly before you; and from the temple a direct view of one of the finest avenues and countries in the world.— Their principal towns are all built after this form. After they have taken a plan of the place, they first build a temple; then leave the great area or circular market place, round which they build a circle of houses, and add others as they increase, according to the foregoing description; ridiculing and contemning other countries, whose towns are generally built in a confused number of houses and streets, without any regular figure. In all the spaces or cuttings of the streets, are public fountains brought down by pipes from a mountain a considerable distance off the town; or, as I said before, statues of great men holding something in their hands to declare their merit; which having no wars, is taken
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either from the invention of arts and sciences, or some memorable action done by them for the improvement and good of their country. These they look upon as more laudable motives, and greater spurs to glory, than all the trophies erected by other nations for destroying their own species. Their houses are built all alike, and low, as I observed before, on account of storms and hurricanes, to which the country is subject; they are all exactly of a height, flat roofed, with artificial gardens on the top of each (6) full of flowers and aromatic shrubs; so that when you look from any eminence down into the streets, you see all the circles and avenues like another world under you; and if on the level, along the tops of the houses, you are charmed with the prospect of ten thousand different gardens meeting your sight wherever you turn; insomuch, that I believe the whole world besides cannot afford such a prospect. There are a great many other beauties and conveniencies, according to the genius of the people; which were I to mention them, would make up a whole volume. I only say, that the riches of the country are immense, which in some measure are all in common, as I shall shew when I come to the nature of their government. The people are the most ingenious and industrious in the world; the governors aiming at nothing but the grandeur and good of the public, having all the affluence the heart of man can desire, in a place where there has been no war for near three thousand years; there being indeed no enemies but the inhospitable sands around them, and they all consider themselves as brothers of the same stock, and living under one common father; so that it is not so much to be wondered at, if they are arrived at that grandeur and magnificence as persons in our world can scarce believe or conceive.

Remarks

Remarks of Signor Rhedi.

(1) *Extremely mysterious in all they do, &c.*] The ancient Egyptians were so mysterious, particularly in their religious ceremonies, and arcana of government, that in all probability the ancient fables, which very few yet understand rightly, had their rise from them; tho' the learned *Bochart*, in his *Phaleg*, derives them chiefly from the Canaanites, who dispersing themselves all over the world, when they fled from *Jeshua*, imposed upon the credulous Greeks, by the different significations of the same words in their language. It is observable by the bye, that the most ancient languages, as the Hebrew, with its different dialects, of which the Canaanite or Phœnician language was one, the Chinese language, &c. had a great many significations for the same word, either from the plain simplicity or poverty of the ancient languages, or more probably from an affected mysteriousness in all they did.

(2) *To signify their respect to their deceased ancestors, &c.*] See the remarks before on that head, and the accounts of the worship of the Chinese, who were originally Egyptians in the disputes between the Dominicans and Jesuits, where the latter maintained the idolatrous ceremonies and offerings made to their deceased ancestors, to imply nothing but a natural and civil respect. The Dominicans, on the contrary, very justly held them to be idolatry, as they were judged to be, and condemned as such by *Clement XI*.

(3) *Called No-om in their sacred language, &c.*] *Jesephus* against *Appion* distinguishes two languages of the ancient Egyptians, the one sacred, the other common. Their sacred language was full of mysteries, perhaps like the cabala of the Jews.

(4) *According to the number of the days of the year.*] Our author seems to be a little out in this place; for it is certain, the ancient Egyptians did not make their year to consist of so many days, unless you will say, that these people being very great astronomers, were more exact in their observations.

(5) *The pillars were of the Corinthian order, &c.*] It is generally supposed, that the different orders of pillars, as the Doric, the Ionic, Corinthian, &c. came first from the Greeks, as their appellations being Greek, would make us believe; but the famous and ancient palace of Persepolis, notwithstanding its Greek name, where there were hieroglyphics and inscriptions in characters none could understand, with other reasons, shew that the invention came from Egypt, or from the ancient Chaldeans, or rather from *Setk*, *Noah*, and the ancient Hebrews. It is likewise very observable, that the invention of arts and sciences came from
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the east, and can be traced no higher than *Noah's flood*; unless you will allow the fables of *Setb*, alledged by the learned *Josephus* in his antiquities quoted above. All which is a very natural confirmation of the account given by *Moses*, against our modern sceptics.

(6) *Artificial gardens, &c.*] The ancient Babylonians had artificial gardens, or *horti pensiles*, on the tops of their houses, as early as the great *Semiramis*; tho' *Herodotus* derives their invention from a later Babylonian queen, who being a Mede by nation, and loving woods, and not being permitted to go out of the palace, had those artificial gardens made to diver her.

Continuation of the Memoirs.

WHEN the ceremonies for the reception of the urns were over, religious ceremonies with these people always taking place of the civil, (1) they proceeded to the inauguration of the pophar regent, which was performed with no other ceremony, for reasons I shall tell your reverences afterwards, but placing him in a chair of state with his face towards the east, on the top of the highest hill in the nome, to shew that he was to inspect, or overlook all, looking towards the temple of the sun, which stood directly eastward of him, to put him in mind that he was to take care of the religion of his ancestors in the first place. When he was thus placed, three hundred and sixty five of the chief of the nome, as representatives of all the rest, came up to him, and making a respectful bow, said, "*eli pophar*," which is as much as to say, hail father of our nation; and he embracing them, as a father does his children, answered them with, "*cali benim*," that is, my dear children. As many of the women did the same.—

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This was all the homage they paid him, which was esteemed so sacred as never to be violated. All the distinction of his habit was one great sun on his breast, much bigger than any of the rest. The precious stones also, which were set in the white fillet binding his forehead, were larger than ordinary, as were those of the cross circles over his head, terminated on the summit with a large tuft of gold fringe, and a thin plate of gold in the shape of the sun, fastened to the top of it horizontally; all of them, both men and women, wore those fillet-crowns with a tuft of gold, but no sun on the top, except the pophar.

As soon as the ceremonies and rejoicings were over, which were performed in tents at the public expense, he was conducted with the chearful acclamations of the people, and the sound of musical instruments, to a most magnificent tent in the front of the whole camp facing the east, which is looked upon as the most honorable, as first seeing the rising sun; and so on by easy journies, till he came to the chief town of that nome. The reason why these ceremonies were performed in the different nomes, was to shew that they all depended on him, and because the empire was so very populous, it was impossible they could meet at one place. I can't express the caresses I received from them, especially when they found I was descended from the same race by the mother's side, and so nearly related to the pophar. Whenever I came first into their company, they all embraced me, men and women; with the most endearing tenderness; the young beautiful women did the same, calling me brother, and catching me in their arms with such an innocent assurance, as if I had been their real brother lost and found again. I can't say but some of them seemed to have a fondness for me that seemed to be of another sort, and which afterwards gave me a great

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deal of trouble, but I imputed it to the nature of the
 sex, who are unaccountably more fond of strangers,
 whom they know nothing of, than of persons of
 much greater merit, who converse with them every
 day. Whether it proceeds from the want of a suf-
 ficient solidity in their judgment, or from a levity
 and fickleness in their nature, or from the spirit of
 contradiction, which makes them fond of what they
 mostly should avoid; or thinking that strangers are
 not acquainted with their defects, or in fine, are
 more likely to keep their counsel; be that as it will
 their mutual jealousies gave the much uneasiness af-
 terwards. But to say a word or two more of the
 nature of the people before I proceed in my rela-
 tion; as I told your reverences, they are the hand-
 somest race of people, I believe, nature ever pro-
 duced, with this only difference, which some may
 think a defect, that they are all too much like one
 another; but, if it be a defect, it proceeds from a
 very laudable cause; that is, from their springing
 from one family, without any mixture of different
 nations in their blood; (2) they have neither wars
 nor traffic with other people, to adulterate their
 race, for which reason they know nothing of the
 vices such a commerce often brings along with it.—
 Their eyes are something too small, but not so lit-
 tle as those of the Chinese; their hair is generally
 black, and inclined to be a little cropped or frizzled,
 (3) and their complexion brown; but their features
 are the most exact and regular imaginable; and in
 the mountainous parts towards the line, where the
 air is cooler, they are rather fairer than our Italians;
 (4) the men are universally well shaped, tall and
 slender, except thro' some accidental deformity,
 which is very rare; but the women, who keep them-
 selves much within doors, are the most beautiful
 creatures, and the finest shaped in the world, ex-
 cept, as I said, being too much alike. There is such

an innocent sweetness in their beauty, and such a native modesty in their countenance, as can't be described. A bold forwardness in a woman, is what they dislike; and to give them their due, even the women are the most chaste I ever knew, which is partly owing to the early and provident care of their governors. But, as I design to make a separate article of the education of their young people, I shall say no more at present on that head.

The visitations which we made to carry the urns, gave me an opportunity of seeing the greatest part of their country as soon as I came there; tho' the pophar with a less retinue, and with whom I always was, visited them more particularly afterwards.— The country is generally more hilly than plain, and in some parts even mountainous; there are, as I said, vast ridges of mountains, which run several hundred miles, either under, or parallel to the equator. These are very cold, and contribute very much to render the climate more temperate than might otherwise be expected, both by refrigerating the air with cooling breezes, which are waisted from thence over the rest of the country, and by supplying the plains with innumerable rivers running both north and south, but chiefly towards the north. (5) These hills, and the great woods they are generally covered with, are the occasion of the country's being subject to rains, (6) there are vast forests and places which they cut down and destroy as they want room, leaving lesser groves for beauty and variety, as well as use and conveniency. The rains and hilliness of the country make travelling a little incommodious; but then they afford numberless springs and rivulets, with such delicious vales, that adding this to the honesty and innocence of the inhabitants, one would think it a perpetual paradise. The soil is so prodigiously fertile, not only in different sorts of grain and rice, with a sort of wheat much larger

and richer in flower than any Indian wheat I ever saw; but particularly in an inexhaustible variety of fruits, legumes, and eatable herbs of such nourishing juice, and delicious taste, that to provide fruit for such numbers of people is the least of their care.

—One would think the curse of *Adam* had scarce reached that part of the world; or that providence had proportioned the fertility of the country to the innocence of the inhabitants; not but the industry and ingenuity of the people, joined with their perpetual peace and rest from external and almost internal broils, contribute very much to their riches and fertility. Their villages being most of them built on the rivulets, for manufactures and trades, are not to be numbered. Their hills are full of metallic mines of all sorts, with materials sufficient to work them; silver is the scarcest, and gold almost the most plentiful; it comes out oftentimes in great lumps from the mineral rocks, as if it wept out from between the joints, and afterwards by the natural heat of the earth, or other unknown causes. This gold is more ductile, easier to work, and better for all uses, than that which is drawn from the ore.—Their inventions for arts, and all manner for (I won't say purposes) even the magnificence of life, are astonishing. When I spoke of their fruits, I should have mentioned a small sort of a grape that grows there naturally, of which they make a wine, sharp at first, but which will keep a great many years, mellowing and improving as it is kept; but the choicest grapes, which are chiefly for drying, are cultivated among them, tho' a very little pains doth it. Their wines are more cordial than inebriating; but a smaller sort diluted with water makes their constant drink.—I don't remember I ever saw any horned beasts in the country, except goats of a very large size, which serve them for milk, tho' it is rather too rich: deer there are innumerable, of
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more different kinds than are in Europe. There is a little beast seemingly of a species between a roe and a sheep, whose flesh is the most nourishing and delicious that can be tasted; these make a dish in all their feasts, and are chiefly reserved for that end. Their fowl, both wild and tame, make the greatest part of their food; as to flesh-meat, they don't eat much, it being, as they think, too gross food.—The rivers and lakes are stored with vast quantities of most exquisite fish, particularly a golden trout, whose belly is of a bright scarlet colour, as delectable to the palate as to the eye. They suppose fish to be more nourishing and easier of digestion than flesh, for which reason they eat much more of it; but having no rivers that run into the sea, they want all of that kind.

Their horses, as I observed before, are but small, but full of mettle and life, and extremely swift; they have a wild ass larger than the horse, of all the colours of the rainbow, very strong, and profitable for burden and drudgery; but their great carriages are drawn by elks; the dromedaries are for travelling over the sands. The rivers, at least in the plain and low countries, are cut into canals, by which they carry most of their provision and effects all over the country. This is only a small sketch of the nature of the country, because I know these matters don't fall under the cognizance of your reverences so much as the account of their religion, morals, customs, laws, and government; yet I must say that for riches, plenty of all delicacies of life, manufactories, inventions of arts, and every thing that conduces to make this mortal state as happy as is possible, no country in the known world can parallel it; tho' there are some inconveniencies, as your reverences will observe as I go on with my relation.

Remarks of Signor Rhedi.

(1) *Religious ceremonies always taking place of the civil, &c.]* The most polite nations of antiquity, even among the heathens, gave the preference to religion, before all other considerations; as for the christian religion, tho' of late, persons of some wit, little judgment, and no morals, call it in question, it is well known, men become more men as they become christians. The light of faith brought in learning, politeness, humanity, justice, and equity, instead of that ignorance, and a brutal barbarity, that overspread the face of the earth; and the want of it will lead us in time into the same enormities which religion has taught us to forsake; on which account it is the part of all wise governments to countenance and preserve religion.

(2) *Without any mixture of different nations in their blood.] Tacitus* says much the same of the Germans, *ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germanie populos nullis aliarum nationum connubiis infectos, proprium & sinceram & tanquam sui similem gentem existisse arbitrantur.** I agree, says he, with their opinion, who thinking the people of Germany so peculiarly like one another, because they have not been corrupted by marriages with other nations. They were noted in *Augustus's* time to have blue eyes, as most of the native Germans have at this day. I remember I saw a review of a German regiment in the city of Milan, where almost every one of the common soldiers had blue eyes. No wonder therefore, if these Africans our author speaks of, should be so like one another.

(3) *Frizzled hair, &c.]* The ancient Egyptians, according to *Herodotus* and *Bochart*, were so.

(4) *Fairer than our Italians, &c.]* Tho' our Italians are something more swarthy than the northern *Tramontani*, yet our ladies keeping much in the house from their childhood, have very fine skins, and excel all others for delicacy of features.†

(5) *But chiefly towards the north, &c.]* It is remarkable, that most springs rise from the north side of the hills, and more rivers run northward than southward, at least on this side of the line, tho' the observation does not always hold; the reason may be, for that there are more mists and dews hanging on the north side, because the sun dries up the moisture on the south side of the mountains, more than on the north; tho' perhaps all springs don't rise from rain and mists, &c. yet most do.

(6) It is well known to the naturalists, that great woods and hills collect clouds and vapours, and consequently cause it to rain more there than in other places.

* *Tacitus de moribus Germanorum.*

† I fancy *Signor Rhedi* never saw our English beauties.

Continuation of the Memoirs.

BEFORE I come to the remaining occurrences of my own life, in which nothing very extraordinary happened till I came away, unless I reckon the extraordinary happiness I was placed in, as to all things of this life, in one of the most delicious regions of the universe, married to the regent's daughter whose picture is there before you, and the deplorable loss of her with my only remaining son, (here he could not refrain from weeping for some time) as well as the present state to which I am reduced; tho' I must own I have received more favourable treatment than could be well expected. I shall give your reverences a succinct account of their religion, laws, and customs, which are almost as far out of the common way of thinking of the rest of the world, as their country.

OF THEIR RELIGION.

THE religion of these people is really idolatry in the main; tho' as simple and natural as possible for heathens. They indeed will not acknowledge themselves to be heathens in the sense we take the word; that is, worshipping of false gods, (1) for they have an abhorrence of idolatry in words as well as the Chinese, but are idolaters in effect, worshipping the material sun, and paying those superstitious rites to their deceased ancestors; of which part of their

their religion your reverences have had a full account already. These people however acknowledge one supreme God, maker of all things, whom they call *El*,* or the most high of all. This, they say, natural reason teaches them from an argument, tho' good in itself, yet formed after a different way of arguing from other people. They say all their own wisdom, or that of all the wisest men in the world put together, could never form this glorious world in all its causes and effects, so justly adapted to its respective ends, as it is with respect to every individual species. Therefore the author of it must be a being infinitely wiser than all intellectual beings. As for the notion of any thing producing itself without a prior cause, they laugh at it, and ask, why we don't see such effects produced without a cause. Hence they hold only one independent cause, and that there must be one, or nothing could ever be produced. Tho' they make a god of the sun, they don't say he is independent as to his own being; but that he received it from this *El*. Some of the wisest, when I argued with them, seemed to acknowledge the sun to be a material being created by God; but others think him to be a sort of vicegerent, by whom the *El* performs every thing as the chief instrumental cause of all productions. This is the reason that they address all their prayers to the sun, tho' they allow all power is to be referred originally to the *El*. The men look upon the moon to be a material being dependent on the sun; but the women seem to make a goddess of her, by reason of the influence she has over that sex; and foolishly think, she brings forth every month when she is at the full, and that the stars are her's and the sun's children.

* The old Arabians [by *Al* or perhaps *El*, mean something very grand or high, as *Al Cair* for Grand Cair; *alchemy*, for the highest chymistry, &c. I wonder *Signor Rhedi* took no notice of this in his remarks,

children. They all of them, both men and women, rest satisfied in their belief, without any disputes or studied notions about a being so infinitely above them, thinking it much better to adore him in the inscrutability of his essence, in an humble silence, than to be disputing about what they cannot comprehend; all their search is employed in second causes, and the knowledge of nature as far as it may be useful to men.

INQUISITOR.—I hope you don't deny but that some men may have wrong notions of the deity in which they ought to be set right by wiser and more learned men than themselves; by consequence all searches and disputes about the being and nature of God are not to be condemnèd.

GAUDENTIO.—No, may it please your reverences, for I presume you only understand me now as representing other peoples' opinions, not my own, which is entirely conformable to what the catholic church teaches. I often told the pophar, to whom I could speak my mind with all the freedom in the world, that as no mortal man could pretend to tell what belonged to the incomprehensibility of God's essence, yet our reason obliging us to believe his being, it was necessary by the same reason that we should be instructed by himself, or some lawgiver immediately commissioned by him, lest we should err in so material a point. This lawgiver we christians believe he did send, by giving us his only son, who was capable of instructing us in what belonged to the eternal God-Head; that he did not only give us the justest notions we could possibly have, but confirmed the truth of what he said with such signs and wonders, as none but one sent from God could perform.

INQUISITOR—Go on.

GAUDENTIO.—When I said, they address all their prayers and most of the external actions of their worship

worship to the sun, it is on account of their believing him to be the physical cause of the production of all things by his natural influence; which, tho' the wiser sort of them, when you came to reason more closely, will grant to be derived from the *El*, and some of them will own him to be a mere material being, moved by a prior cause, yet the generality of them don't reflect on this; but are really guilty of idolatry in worshipping a mere creature. Nevertheless, as to the moral effects of the universe, or the free actions of men with respect to equity, justice, goodness, uprightness, and the like, which they allow to be properly the duty of rational creatures, and of much greater consequence than the physical part of the world; this I say, they all refer to the supreme being, whose will it is, they should be merciful, good, just, and equitable to all, agreeably to the just notions of the all-wise author of their existence, whose supreme reason being incapable of any irregular bias, ought to be the rule of his creatures that depend on him, and are in some measure partakers of his perfections. They confirm this notion by a very proper comparison; that, as for example, to act contrary to the laws of nature in physical productions, is to produce monstrous births, &c. so to act contrary to the ideas of the supreme reason in moral cases, must be a great deformity in his sight. I own I was charmed with this natural way of reasoning, and asked them further, whether they believed the supreme being troubled himself about the moral part of the world, or the free actions of men? They seemed surprised at the question, and asked me, whether I thought it was possible he should leave the noblest part out of his care, when he took the pains (that was their expression) to create the least insect according to the most exact rules of art and knowledge, beyond all that the art of man can come up to. I asked them again.

again, what were the rules, which it was his will that free agents, such as man, for instance, should follow in the direction of their lives? They told me reason, justice, and equity, in imitation of the supreme reason in him; for, said they, can you think the supreme being can approve of the enormous actions committed by men; or that any vile practices can be according to the just ideas of his reason; if not, they must be contrary to the best light of reason, not only in God but man, and therefore liable to be punished by the just governor of all. I submit these notions to your reverences better judgment, but I thought them very extraordinary for persons who had nothing but the light of nature to direct them. It is pity but they had been as right in their more remote inferences as they were in these principles. The sum therefore of the theoretical part of their religion, is first, that the *El* is the supreme, intellectual, rational, and most noble of all beings; that it is the duty of all intellectual beings to imitate the just laws of reason in him, otherwise they depart from the supreme rules of all their actions, since what is contrary to the most perfect reason in God, must be contrary to our own, and by consequence of a deformity highly blameable in his sight; all their prayers and whatever they ask of this supreme being is, that they may be just and good as he is. Secondly, that the sun is the chief, at least instrumental cause of their bodies, and all other physical effects. Your reverences know better than I can inform you, that this is wrong. To him they address their prayers for the preservation of their lives, the fruits of the earth, &c. Thirdly, that their parents are the more immediate instrumental cause of their natural being, which they derive partly from the *El*, and partly from the sun; and they reverence them the more on this account, as being the vicegerents of both, and believe them

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to be immortal, as to the spiritual or intellectual part, and consequently able and ready to assist them according to the respect they shew them by reverencing their tombs and honoring their memories. Tho' upon a nicer examination I found, that the superstitious worship they pay their deceased ancestors, was as much a politic as a religious institution, because their government being patriarchal, this inviolable respect they shew to their parents makes them obey their elders or governors, not only with the most dutiful observance, but even with a filial love and alacrity.

There are some other points of less consequence, and reduceable to these three heads, which your reverences will observe in the course of my relation. As for the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in another life, they believe both, tho' they have an odd way of explaining them. They suppose, without any hesitation, that the soul is a being independent of matter, as to its essence, having faculties of thinking, willing, and chusing, which mere matter, let it be spun ever so fine, and actuated by the quickest and the most subtle motion, can never be capable of; but their notion of pre-existence with the *El*, before they were sent into bodies, is very confused. The rewards and punishments in the next life, they believe will chiefly consist in this: that in proportion as their actions have been conformable to the just ideas of the supreme being in this life, partaking still more and more of his infinite wisdom, so their souls will approach still nearer to the beautiful intelligence of their divine model in the next. But if their actions in this life have been consistent with the supreme reason in God, they shall be permitted to go on for ever in that inconsistency and disagreement, till they become so monstrously wicked and enormous, as to become abominable even to themselves.

OF

OF THEIR OPINION CONCERNING THE
TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS,
AND THE SCIENCE OF PHYSIOGNOMY.

I FOUND the wisest of them held the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls, (1) not as a punishment in the next life, as some of the ancient heathen philosophers did, but as a punishment in this; the chief punishment in the next was explained above. This transmigration of souls is quite different from the received notion of the word, instead of believing as the ancients did, that the souls of wicked and voluptuous men after their deaths, transmigrated into beasts according to the similitude of their vicious inclinations, till passing thro' one animal into another, they were permitted to commence men again; I say, these people, instead of believing this, hold a metempsychosis of quite a different nature; not that the souls of men enter into brutes, but that the souls of brutes enter into the bodies of men even in this life. They say for example, that the bodies of men and women are such delicate habitations, that the souls of brutes are perpetually envying them, and contriving to get into them; that unless the divine light of reason be perpetually attended to, these brutal souls steal in upon them, and chain up the rational soul, so that it shall not be able to govern the body, unless it be to carry on the designs of the brutal soul, or at best, only make some faint efforts to get out of its slavery. I took it at first, that this system was merely allegorical, to shew the similitude between the passions of

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which they pretend to discover those passions; I say, they pretend to know by these what brutal soul lays siege to the rational soul, or whether it has already taken possession of its post. If they are strangers, they prudently take care to avoid their company, or at least are on their guard not to have any dealings with them in matters obnoxious to the brutal soul they think them possessed by. But if the person attacked by these brutal spirits are of their own nation, they immediately forewarn such to be on their guard, by which, and the dread they have entertained from their youth of these brutal enemies, they are kept in such order, that, as I said, I never saw such moral people in my life; the worst is, they are extremely inclined to be proud, and have too great a value for themselves, despising in their hearts all other nations, as if they were nothing but brutes in human shape. (3) However, their wise men take as much care as possible to correct this fault, as far as the ignorance of the laws of grace will allow, by putting them often in mind of the

miseries and infirmities of human life, which being real evils, must be in punishment of some fault; that the most perfect are liable to death, which makes no distinction between them and the rest of the world. Besides that, humility, and a commiseration for the defects of others, is one of the rays of the divine light that is to guide them. From such documents and instructions of the wiser sort, though they do not care to have any correspondence with other people, seeing them so possessed with those brutal souls, yet they are a most courteous and compassionate people in all their behaviour.

Remarks of Signor Rhedi.

(1) *They held the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.* This opinion was very ancient, and came originally from Egypt, where

where *Pythagoras* learned it; though perhaps not liking this way of employing it, he altered it quite from what these men held, which is the less irrational of the two. Though with *Signor Gaudentio's* leave, I can never believe, these wise men really held that opinion, but only understood it allegorically; I must own at the same time, some of the ancients did hold the other metempsychosis.

(2) *That of a tygers made them so cruel, &c.*] This notion of the transmigration of the souls of brutes into men and women in this life, particularly into the latter, was not unknown to the ancients, though explained something after a different way: witness a remaining fragment of *Simonides*, a very ancient Greek poet, to that effect.

(3) *Brutes in human shape, &c.*] The Chinese, whom I have proved to be descended from the first Egyptians, are subject to the like pride and contempt of other people; saying, that all other nations have but one eye, whereas nature has given them two; signifying thereby, how much wiser they think themselves than other men.

Continuation of the Memoirs.

OF THEIR LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

OVER and above what has been said already of the nature and customs of these people, their laws are very few in number; but then they are prodigiously exact in the observance of them. I have often heard the pophar make very severe reflections, contrary to his custom, on the lawyers of other countries who make laws upon laws, and add precepts upon precepts, till the endless number of them

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makes the fundamental part to be forgotten ; leaving nothing but a confused heap of explanations, which may cause ignorant people to doubt, whether there is any thing in earnest meant by the laws or not. " If I forbid my son," says he, " to do any wrong to any one, what need is there of reckoning up all the particulars by which a person may be wronged? Shew but the fact on both sides, any man of sense and equity can tell if there be any wrong done or not ; for if you multiply an infinity of circumstances, it will be much more difficult to decide what is right or what is wrong, than if you precisely and absolutely forbid any injury whatsoever."

It is almost incredible with what nicety and equity their judges determine those few disputes, they have among them, in a few minutes. To weigh the merits of the cause by the weight of the purse, would be counted by them one of the greatest enormities. There are no courts for disputes of this nature ; all is done by laying the case before their public assemblies, or before any one or two prudent and just men, and the affair is finally decided at once. All the law *meum* and *tuum* among them is, *thou shalt do no wrong to any one*, without entering into any further niceties. Such as explanatory suppositions, say they, oftner shew people how they may ingeniously contrive to do an injury than how to avoid it.

Their laws therefore are nothing but the first principles of natural justice, judged and explained by the elders in the public hearing of all who have a mind to come in, as the facts are brought into dispute.

The worship of the Deity, and that excessive and even superstitious reverence they pay to their parents both alive and dead, is so carefully inculcated into them from their infancy, that there is no need of
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any written law to enforce it. They look on a man to be possessed with some brutal soul who should pretend to call in question, or neglect this duty.

There is a positive law among them, not to shed human blood voluntarily. (1) They carry this fundamental law of nature to such a height, that they never put any one to death even for murder, which very rarely happens; that is, once in several ages.—If it appears that a person has really murdered another, a thing they think almost impossible, the person convicted is shut up from all commerce of men, with provisions to keep him alive as long as nature allows. After his death the fact is proclaimed, as it was when they shut him up, over all the nomes. His name is blotted out of their genealogies; then his dead body is mangled just in the same manner as he killed the innocent, and afterwards burnt to ashes, which are carried up to the highest part of the deserts, and then tossed up into the air, to be carried away by the winds blowing from their own country; nor is he ever more to be reckoned as one of their race; and there is a general mourning observed throughout the kingdom for nine days.

There is also an express law against adultery and whoredom, which are likewise punished after death. If persons are caught in adultery, they are shut up apart till death; then they are exposed naked as they were surpris'd, and the body of the woman treated after the most ignominious manner for three days; after which they are burnt, and their ashes dispersed as before. (2) Whoredom is only punished in the man, by chaining him to a *he-goat*, and the woman to a *salt-bitch*, and leading them thus round the nome. All in the respective nome, men and women, are to be present at the more signal punishments; and parents are obliged to explain to their children the wickedness and horror of the crimes,

crime, for a warning for the future. I forgot to tell your reverences, that if the woman brings forth by adultery, the child is preserved till able to be carried with them when they go into Egypt, and there given to some stranger, with ample provisions for its maintenance, but never to be heard of more. (3)

There is also one particular I should have mentioned, relative to injustice. If, for example, the elders find there has been any considerable injustice done, the criminal is obliged to restore nine times the value. If any one be convicted to have imposed upon the judges, he is to be sent out to the skirts of the country to live by himself, for a time proportionable to his guilt, with a mark on his forehead, for all persons to avoid him, lest he should instil his principles into others. All other matters are regulated rather by custom than by laws, which will be seen when I come to the form of their government, and other particular institutions.

Remarks of Signor Rhedi.

(1) *Against shedding of blood, &c.*] These people descending from *Misraim*, who might know the patriarch *Noah*, and might have learnt by tradition the punishment of *Cain* for the murder of his brother *Abel*, carried that opinion to an excess. These people, be they who they will, or not be at all, I can't but observe, how *inexcusable* the wickedness of men was from the beginning, without blaming *God*, as some libertines do, for leaving them in ignorance.

The wicked *Ham*, or *Cham*, was in the ark with *Noah*, and lived many years before the deluge, (the truth of which is attested by ancient history as well as by scripture and faith) and saw the dreadful punishment inflicted on the world for sin; could not he have learnt godliness and the reward for it, of his father *Noah*? Could not *Ham* have taught his own children, they theirs, and so on? But they corrupted their own ways, and thereby shewed the necessity of the law of grace and revelation.

(2) See

(2) See the bishop of Meaux's universal history concerning the Egyptians, part 3. and of their punishments after death.

(3) *And never heard of more, &c.*] With our author's leave, this is not such a just and compassionate part; to turn innocent children out among people whose customs they had such a horror of, only for their parents faults: for though the maxim be good, "*care a breed*," yet the care they took of their youth, and the moral instruction they gave them, might make them abhor the crimes of their parents.

Continuation of the Memoirs.

OF THEIR FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

THEIR form of government, as I had the honor to acquaint your reverences before, is patriarchal, which they preserve inviolably, as being the most tenacious people in the world of their primitive institutions. But the order of the succession is extremely particular, to keep up the equality of brotherhood and dignity as exact as they can. Your reverences, I presume, remember that they all sprung from one family, (and lived as such when they were driven out of Egypt) the head of which was priest of the sun. This government they had observed ever since *Misraim* took possession of that land for his habitation. But when they were secured from all the world in the first vale, as was mentioned before,

fore, they established that form of government after a particular manner. The first pophar settling in that vale with his five sons and as many daughters with their husbands, governed them during life as father or patriarch of them all. Their prodigious veneration for their parents and separation from all other people, render this form infinitely more practicable than can be well imagined. As they were children of one man, the interest of the whole was the interest of every particular. All the nation of the first transmigration were children, grand children, or great grand children of the good old man who conducted them thither. Having no wars or voyages at sea, nor commerce with the distempers, as well as vices of other nations, who generally differ in their way of living as well as their climate; having nothing of this, I say, to destroy their people, they not only increased prodigiously, without plurality of wives, but by that and their almost primitive way of living; they preserved their lives to a great old age, most of them living above a hundred years, and some of them above a hundred and fifty. The first pophar, say their memoirs, lived till a hundred and fifty five, and his eldest son, his successor, being more robust than himself, to a hundred and sixty. Presently after his establishment in the first vale, he divided his small dominions into five nomes, or governments, under his five sons, as was observed before, all were to be subordinate to the eldest; but it was only a patriarchal subordination, relating to the whole. The other governors, and indeed all fathers of families were entire ministers of the laws in their respective families; but these last were liable to the inspection of the more immediate superiors, and all to that of the grand pophar, assisted with such a number of counsellors as were established afterwards. To give your reverences a more distinct idea of his wonderful government, it will come much to

to the same, whether we descend from the chief pophar to every respective family, or from these upwards. The particularities of the succession I shall consider afterwards. However, it will be easier seen if we take them when their numbers were not so great, at the first beginning of their establishment. The pophar then having distinguished the bounds of every nome, I mean in their first transmigration, each son took possession of it for himself and posterity. While each son's children were unmarried, they continued under the government of their father, who made use of as much land as was sufficient for the conveniencies and pleasures, as well as necessities of life. But as soon as any son was married, or at least when he could be called a father of a family, the father, with consent of the pophar, allotted him likewise a sufficient quantity for the same end; so they spread and enlarged themselves as it were from the centre to a farther extent, much in the same manner as they build their towns, till they had occupied the whole nome. Here you will say, these people must in process of time encrease to an *infinitum*, without lands sufficient to maintain them. This was really the case in the first plantation, which was so entirely occupied by them, that if the famous pophar who brought them into the vast continent they now enjoy, had not made that glorious discovery with the danger of his life, they must have returned into Egypt, or eat up one another; but where they are at present, they have room enough, notwithstanding their numbers, for several ages. However, I often represented to the pophar, that it must come to that at last; the thought made him uneasy at first, and at length put him on a further discovery, as your reverences will see in the sequel. But such vast numbers of them betaking themselves to arts and manufactures, and the country being so prodigiously fertile, there does not ap-

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pear any great difficulty in that respect. Of all arts they look upon agriculture as the first in dignity, next to the liberal sciences, since that nourishes all the rest; but it comes so easily, and the fruits and legumes are so rich and delicious, that they have little more trouble than to gather them, besides having two summers and two springs, each different season produces its peculiar fruits. But to return to the idea of their government: each father of a family governs all his descendants, married or unmarried, as long as he lives. If his sons are fathers, they have a subordinate power under him; if he dies before he comes to such an age, the eldest son, or the eldest uncle, takes care of them, untill they are sufficient to set up family for themselves. The father, on extraordinary occasions, is liable to be inspected by five of the most prudent heads of that district; these by five of the five adjacent districts chosen by common consent; these last, by the heads of the five nomes, and all the nomes by the grand pophar assisted with three hundred and sixty-five elders, or senators, chosen out of every nome. What is most particular in this government, is, that they are all absolute in some manner, and independent, as looking on themselves as all equal in birth; yet in an entire dependency of natural subordination or eldership, which runs through the whole economy, as your reverences will see when I come to the succession. They are in the same manner lords and proprietors of their own possessions, yet the pophar and governors can allot and dispose of all for the public emolument, because they look upon him to be as much the father of all, as the immediate natural father is of his proper children, and even in some sense their natural father by right of eldership, because they sprung originally from one man, whom the grand pophar represents. To this, that natural, or politic, or even superstitious respect they shew

them to their parents, contributes so much, that they never dispute, but on the contrary, revere the regulations made by their superiors; being satisfied that they are not only just and good, but that it is their own act, since it is done by virtue of a subordination to which they all belong.

The succession of eldership has something very particular, and even intricate in it. To express at the same time the superiority of the elder son, and the equality of independence, I shall endeavour to explain to your reverences as well as I can, the right thereof. The elder son of the first pophar, is always grand pophar, when he is of age to govern, which, as I said, is fifty at soonest; but if the direct line fails, not the uncle's son, nor any one in that nome, but the right heir of the next nome, and so of all the five nomes. If they should fail in all the nomes, the right heir of the second son of the first nome, and so of all the rest. This they say has happened several times since their first establishment, which is not much to be wondered at, if they are so ancient as they pretend. Thus, though the grand popharship be confined to the eldest in some sense, in effect it belongs to them all; but if the next heir be a minor, as he is always judged to be till he is fifty years of age, the eldest of that age, of the second son of the next nome, is regent till the heir be out of his minority, and so on; in such a manner, that he who has the next right to be grand pophar, is never to be regent, to divide the superiority among them as equal as is possible. All other public officers, teachers of arts and sciences, overseers of all the public employments, &c. are constituted by the grand pophar and sanhedrim, with associates of every nome.

MORE PARTICULARS

OF THEIR PUBLIC ŒCONOMY.

THOUGH, as I said, the pophar is in some sense the proprietor of the whole country, as head of the government, and chief patriarch; yet the paradox of this government consists in this, that they are joint lords, acknowledging no inequality but merely eldership, and the respect due to dignitaries, which they esteem as their own, or redounding to themselves, because they all give their consent to their election for the public good. In a word, the whole country is only one great family governed by the laws of nature, with proper officers constituted by the whole, for order and common preservation; every individual looks on himself as a part of that great family. The grand pophar is the common father, esteeming all the rest as children and brothers, calling them universally by that name, as they all call one another brothers, bartering and exchanging their commodities as one brother would do with another; and not only that, but they join all in building their towns, public places, schools, &c. laying up all their stores and provisions, over and above the present consumption, in public places for the use of the whole, with overseers and inspectors, constituted by common consent, who are to take care chiefly that no disorder be committed. Thus every one contributes to all public expences, feasts, and the like, which on some occasions are extremely magnificent, affecting an external grandeur in all respects. Thus also, every man wherever he goes, enters into what house he pleases, as if it were his own home; this they are doing perpetually throughout

out the whole country, rather visiting then merchandizing, exchanging the rarities of each respective place with those of other parts, just like friends making presents to one another; so that all the roads are like streets of great towns, with people going backward and forward perpetually. They do this the more frequently to keep up a correspondence between the nomes, for fear that distance of place should cause any forgetfulness of their being of one family. The plenty of the country affords them every thing that nature can call delightful, and that with such ease, that infinite numbers are employed in trades and arts, according to their genius or inclinations; which, by their continual peace and plenty, their long establishment in one country, and under one form of government, the natural ingenuity of the people, the so early knowledge of arts, which they brought with them out of Egypt; and by the improvements their wise men make in them from time to time, from what they learn when they pay their visits to their deceased ancestors, they have brought to prodigious perfection. One may say of them, that they are all masters and all servants, every one has his employment; generally speaking, the younger sort wait on the elders, changing their offices as it is thought proper by their superiors, as in a well regulated community. All their children universally are taught at the public expense, as children of the government, without any distinction but that of *personal merit*. As the persons deputed for that end, judge of their genius, or any particular inclination, they are disposed afterwards to those arts and callings for which they seem most proper; the most sublime sciences are the most in respect with them, and are chiefly the employment of their great men and governors, contrary to the custom of other countries; the reason of which is, because these being never chosen till they are

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are fifty years of age, they have had more time to improve themselves, and generally are persons of more extensive capacities. They rightly suppose that persons who excel others in the most rational sciences, are not only fittest to govern a rational people, but also most capable of making themselves masters of what they undertake; not but such men knowing the governors are chose out of that rank, have an eye in their studies to the rules and arts of governing, which are communicated at a distance by them, according to the talents they remark in the subjects. They don't do this out of any spirit of ambition, employments being rather an honorary trouble than advantage, but for the real good of the whole. Agriculture, as I said, has the next place in honor after liberal arts; and next to that, those arts are most esteemed which are most necessary; the last of all are those which are of least use, though perhaps the most delightful.

Since every one is employed for the common good more than for themselves, perhaps persons may apprehend that this gives a check to industry, not having that spur of private interest, hoarding up riches, or aggrandizing their families, as is to be found in other nations. I was apprehensive of this myself when I came to understand their government, but so far from it, that possibly there is not such an industrious race of people in the universe. They place their great ambition in the *grandeur of their country*, looking on those as narrow and mercenary spirits, who can prefer a part to the whole; they pride themselves over other nations on that account, each man having a proportionable share in the public grandeur; the love of glory and praise seems to be their greatest passion. Besides their wise governors have such ways of stirring up their emulation by public honors, harangues, and panegyrics in their public assemblies, with a thousand other arts of shew and pageantry, and this for the most minute arts, that

that were it not for that fraternal love ingrafted in them from their infancy, they would be in danger of raising their emulation to too great a height.—Those who give indications of greater wisdom and prudence in their conduct than others, are marked out for governors, and gradually raised according to their merit. Whoever invents a new art has a statue erected according to the usefulness of it, with his name and family put down in the public records. Whoever distinguishes himself by any particular eminence, has suitable marks of distinction paid him on public occasions; as garlands, crowns; acclamations, songs, or hymns in his praise, &c. It is incredible how such rewards as these encourage industry and arts in minds so affected with glory; as these people are: on the other hand, their greatest punishment, except for capital crimes, which are punished as above, are by public disgraces.

But now I am speaking of their youth,—as they look upon them as seeds of the common wealth, which if corrupted in the bud, will never bring forth fruit; so their particular care is laid out in their education, in which I believe they excel all nations yet known. One cannot say there is one person in the whole nation who may be called an idle person, though they indulge their youth very much in proper recreations, endeavouring to keep them as gay as they can, because they are naturally inclined to gravity, and besides daily recreations, they have set times and seasons for public exercises, as riding, vaulting, running, but particularly, hunting wild beasts, and fishing for crocodiles and alligators in their great lakes, which I shall describe to your reverences on another occasion; yet they are never suffered to go alone, that is, a company of young men together, without grave men and persons in authority along with them, who are a guard to them in all their actions: nay, they are never suffered to lye together,

each lying in a single bed, though in a public room, with some grave person in the same room with them. Their women are kept much in the same manner, to prevent inconveniencies I shall touch upon, when I come to the education of their women, and this so universally, that as there are no idle companions to lead them into extravagancies, so there are no idle and loose women to be found to corrupt their purity. Their whole time, both for men and women is taken up in employments or public recreations, which with the early care to instruct them in the fundamental principles of the morality of the country, prevents all those disorders of youth we see elsewhere. Hence comes that strength of body and mind in their men, and modest blooming beauty in their women; so that among this people, nature seems to have kept itself up to its primitive and original perfection.— Beside that universal likeness in them, proceeding from their conjugal fidelity, and exclusion of all foreign mixture in their breed, where all the lineaments of their ancestors, direct and collateral, meet at last in their offspring, gives the parents the comfort of seeing their own bloom and youth renewed in their children, though in my opinion this universal likeness is rather a defect; not but the treasures of nature are so inexhaustible, that there are some distinguishing beauties in every face. Their young men and women meet frequently, but then it is in their public assemblies with grave people mixt along with them. At all public exercises the women are placed in view to see and be seen, to inflame the young men with emulation in their performances. They are permitted to be decently familiar on those public occasions, and can chuse their lovers respectively, according to their liking, there being no such thing as dowries or interest, but mere personal merit in the case; but more of this in the next paragraph, where I shall speak more particularly

larly of the education of their women and marriages. This is a short sketch of the government and economy of a people who are so much distinguished from the customs of others, as they are separated by their habitation and country.

INQUISITOR.—You seem, sir, to have a very high idea of this patriarchal government, and look upon it according to the law of nature; I hope you don't deny but persons may be obliged by the law of nature to obey their forms of government, as well as a patriarchal one?

GAUDENTIO.—No, reverend fathers, by no means, I don't enter into comparisons, but relate matter of fact. It is not to be doubted, but different forms of government may be proper for different nations; and where once a form of government is lawfully established, persons are obliged to obey to avoid anarchy and confusion; for example, whoever should endeavour to subvert a monarchical government once lawfully established, must break in upon the laws of right and justice, which are obligations of the law of nature.

INQUISITOR.—Read on.

SECOND INQUISITOR.—Under favour I must ask him a question or two first. I think, *Signor Gaudentio*, you make the grand pophar to be both prince and priest; that is to be vested both with temporal and spiritual power: is it your opinion that the spiritual power is subject to the temporal?

GAUDENTIO.—I speak of heathens, reverend fathers, and a heathenish worship, where the grand pophar was both prince of the people and chief priest of the sun by his place. I acknowledge no head of the church but his holiness, as most agreeable to the primitive institution of our religion.

Here he went on in his exalted notions of the sovereign pontiff, partly being a roman catholic, but chiefly,

chiefly, in all appearance, because he was before the inquisition; for which reason the publisher thought fit to leave it out.

GAUDENTIO.—Doth it please your reverences that I go on with my history?

INQUISITOR.—Ay, ay, read on.

THE EDUCATION OF THEIR WOMEN, AND MARRIAGES.

AS for their women, the pophar told me it was what gave them the most trouble of any thing in their whole government; that by their records their ancestors had held frequent consultations after what manner they were to be managed, there being great difficulties to be feared, either from allowing them liberty or keeping them under restraint. If you allow them liberty, you must depend on their honor or rather caprice, for your own; if you keep them under confinement, they will be sure to revenge themselves the first opportunity, which they will find in spite of all you can do. The rules, said he, by which men are governed, will not hold with women; solid reason, if you can make them sensible of it, will some time or other have an influence on most men, whereas humour is what predominates in women. Hit that, you have them; miss it, you do nothing; and yet they are so far from being an indifferent thing in the commonwealth, that much more depends on the right management of them than people imagine. Licentiousness of youth draws innumerable misfortunes on any government, and what greater incentives for licentiousness than lewd women;

women, whether prostitutes, wanton ladies, or adulteresses? For all loose women belong to one of these classes. Our women, continued he, are extremely beautiful, as you see; our men strong and vigorous; conjugal fidelity therefore and chastity must be the strongest bonds to keep them in their duty. As for our young men, we keep them in perpetual employment, and animate them to glory by all ways capable of stirring up generous minds; we endeavour the same on our women, by ways adapted to their genius. But our greatest care of all, is to make marriage esteemed by both parties the happiest state that can be wished for in this life. Thus we believe to depend more in making the woman happy and fixt in her choice, than the man; because if the person be imposed upon her, not according to her own inward inclination, that dislike, or revenge, or perhaps a more shameful passion, will make her seek for relief elsewhere; and where women are not virtuous, men will be lewd. We therefore permit the woman to chuse entirely for herself, and the men to make their addressees where they please: but the woman is to distinguish her choice by some signal occasion or other, and that too not without great difficulties on both sides, which being surmounted, they esteem themselves arrived at the happy part of all their wishes. The most ardent and tried love determines the choice; this endears the man to her on the one hand, and the difficulty of finding any woman who has not the same inducements to love her husband, leaves him no encouragement in his lawless desires among married women; and the single women are either so early engaged with their lovers, or so possessed with the notion that a married man can't belong to her, that his suit would be entirely vain. In a word, we don't allow the least temporal interest to interfere in the choice, but rather wish our young people should fall in love.

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Our whole business is to prove their constancy, and to make them so; when we are well assured of this, all obstacles are removed. We found this method to have the least inconveniencies of any, and the best means to preserve conjugal fidelity, on which the good of families so much depends.

When our nation, continued he, began to grow very populous, and the country full of riches and plenty; the promiscuous conversation of our young men and women, with some neglect on the part of the governors, was the occasion that the bounds of our innocent ancestors were not sufficient to keep them in their duty; strange disorders were crept among our youth of both sexes; our men grew enervated and effeminate, our women wanton and enflamed: unnatural abuses wasted away their constitution, so that we lost thousands of our young men and women, without knowing what was the cause; even in the married state, the women began not to be contented with one man, on which account our ancestors had almost resolved to keep all our women from the sight of men untill they were married, and then to deliver them up to their husbands, who should have a despotic right over them; as I am informed they have in other nations. They judged this to be a certain means to be sure of the legitimacy of their children, and to prevent jealousy; the first cause, though dissembled, of the man's dislike to his wife. Others objected against this severe discipline, and said, it was making the most beautiful part of the creation mere slaves, or at least, mere properties; it was to give an innate check to the glory of a free people; it was to deprive the husband of the voluntary love of his moiety; and take away the most endearing part of conjugal happiness. To this, the severe side answered, that the women were come to such a pass, that the abuses of it shewed they were not capable of liberty; however, a medium betwixt both

both carried it for that time. The injuries of the marriage state, and the corruption of youth, which was the occasion of it, was judged to be of such consequence to the commonwealth, that they were resolved to put a stop to it at any rate. All the wise men and governors consulted, and resolved unanimously to put the laws I mentioned, against adultery and whoredom in execution; causing proclamations to be made for that intent throughout the whole empire. All corruptors of youth of both sexes were shut up immediately, with those regulations I related above, of having grave persons always in the company of young people, men and women. They married off all that were at age for it as fast as they could; but found they did not encrease as usual, having exhausted or debilitated their native vigour by their unnatural abuses.

Some Paragraphs seem wanting in this Part of Gaudentio's Narrative, which, doubtless, were very curious.

There is a peculiar method allowed by them, in which they differ from all other nations; for whereas, other nations endeavour to preserve their young people from love, lest they should throw themselves away, or make disadvantageous matches; these people having no interested views in that respect, encourage a generous and honorable love, and make it their care to fix them in the strictest love they can, as soon as they judge by their age and constitution how they are inclined; this they do sometimes by applauding them on their choice, but mostly by raising vast difficulties, contrived on purpose, both to try and enhance their constancy. They have histories and stories of heroic examples of fidelity and constancy in both sexes, but particularly for the young

young women, by which they are taught rather to suffer ten thousand deaths than violate their plighted faith; one may say, they are a nation of faithful lovers; the longer they live together, the more their friendship encreases, and infidelity in either sex is looked upon as a capital crime. Add to this, that being all of the same rank and quality, except the regard paid to eldership and public employments, nothing but personal merit and a liking of each other, determines the choice. There must be signal proofs produced, that the woman prefers the man before all others, as his service must be distinguished in the same manner. Where this is approved of by the governors or elders, if the woman insists on her demands, it is an inviolable law that that man must be her husband. Their hands are first joined in public, then they clasp each other in the closest embrace, in which posture the elder of the place puts a circle of the finest tempered steel, to shew that this union is never to be dissolved; it is all woven with flowers, and first laid over their necks, as they are thus clasping each other; then round their waists, and last of all round their breasts or hearts, to signify, that the ardency of their love must terminate in an indissoluble friendship, with infinite acclamations and congratulations of the whole assembly. I believe the world can't furnish such examples of conjugal chastity as are preserved between them by this means. Widowers and widows never marry single persons, and but rarely at all, except left young, when they are to gain each other as before. By such prudent precautions, infinite disorders are prevented, proceeding not only from disproportionate and forc'd marriages, but from the licentiousness of idle persons, who either marry for money, or live on the spoils of other people, till they can get an advantageous match, which often occasions great misfortunes in a commonwealth. This is a short sketch of

of their government and customs, which I thought would not be unacceptable to your reverences, tho' a great many other customs of less moment will occur in the sequel of my life.

Continuation of the Memoirs.

Where the Author returns to the more particular Circumstances of his own Life.

THE Popbar Regent made choice of me for one of his attending companions, with the other young men who came home with us; he had a great many other attendants and officers deputed by common consent, to wait his orders as Regent; these were changed every five years, as were those attending the governors of the other Només, on account of improvement; for, being all of equal quality, they endeavour to give them as equal an education as is possible, changing their employments, and waiting on one another in their turns by the appointment of their respective governors, except those whose genius or choice determines them to arts and sciences, according to their oeconomy described before. I must only add, that having such a high value for their race, no one thinks it a disgrace to perform the meanest offices, being all to be attended in like man-

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manner themselves, when it comes to their turns, every one looking on the honours done to every branch of their government, as their own. Hence all their public ranks and ceremonies are the most magnificent that can be imagined; there is scarce any thing done even in entertainments between the private tribes, but there are proper officers deputed for it, and all expenses paid out of the common stock, with deputies and overseers for every thing. Their houses are all open to one another with a long gallery, which runs from the end of one range of building to the other; the women's apartments join together, with the men of each family joining to their own women, that is, their wives, sisters, and daughters. The women have their subaltern officers like the men. The first apartment of every break of a street belongs to the men, then the women's belonging to them; then the women of the next family joining to them, and their men beyond them, and so on, with large public halls at proper distances for public assemblies; so that every thing they do is a sort of paradox to us, for they are the freest and yet strictest people in the world; the whole nation, as I observed before, being more like one universal college, or community, than any thing else. The women are perpetually employed as well as the men, it is their business to work all the fine garments for themselves and the men, which being much the same, except devices and flowers, for their friends and lovers, are made with less difficulty; the chief difference is in the wearing them; but the chief distinction of sexes is in the ornaments of their necks and hair. Crowns and fillets are worn by all, just after the model of the little picture your reverences saw in the cabinet; all their tapestry, embroidery, and the like, with infinite other curiosities, are all the works of their women; so that the chief qualification of their women, or ladies, for
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they are all such, is to excel in the loom, needle, or distaff. Since I came there, by the Pophar's desire, they have added that of painting, in which I believe the vivacity of their genius will make them excel all the rest of the world. Not teaching for hire, I thought it no disgrace in me to instruct such amiable scholars in an art no man ought to be ashamed of; it is a thing unknown with these people, for young ladies of all degrees, or even young men, to have nothing else to mind or think of but visits and dresses. When I gave them an account of the lives of our quality and gentry, they cried out, *What Barbarians!* can any thing become beauty more than knowledge and ingenuity? They seemed to have such a contempt, and even a horror for a life of that nature, that the young ladies asked me with great concern, if our ladies had any lovers? as if it were impossible to love a woman who had nothing to recommend her but what nature gave her. In fine, by the description I gave of the idle life of our ladies, they judged them to be no more than beautiful brutes. They asked me also, if I did not think myself fortunate by my captivity, where I met with ladies who thought the ornaments of the mind more desirable than those of the body; and told me, they imputed what they saw in me, to my good fortune of being born of their race by the mother's side; nay, could scarce believe but my father had a mixture of their blood some way or other. I assured them, I esteemed myself very happy to be in the midst of so many charms of body and mind; and added, that though they had the inestimable happiness of being born all of one race, without any mixture of foreign vices, yet in effect, all the world were originally brothers and sisters, as springing from one *pair*, since men and women did not rise out of the ground like mushrooms. This I said, to

give them a little hint of natural and revealed religion, which are inseparably linked together.

But to return to myself.—The Pophar being my nearest relation, took me into his own family as his constant companion and attendant, when he was not on the public concerns, where I always accompanied him with most distinguishing marks of his favour. He would often confer with me, and instruct me in their ways and customs, and the polity of their government; enquiring frequently into the particularities of our governments, both civil and religious; for the last he never endeavoured to persuade me to conform to their ceremonies; and my own good sense told me, it was prudence not to meddle with them. I rather thought he seemed inclined to have more favourable sentiments of our religion, as such, than his own, though he was prodigiously bigotted to their civil customs; saying, it was impossible ever to preserve a commonwealth when they did not live up to their laws; that these laws should be as few and as simple as possible, but then kept to a tittle; for when once people come to break in upon fundamentals, all subsequent laws would not have half the strength as primary ones, with a great many other reflections, that shewed he was a man of a most consummate wisdom, and worthy the high post he bore. He had two sons, both dead, and two daughters living; the one was about ten years old, when I arrived there; it is she your reverences saw in that picture; the other born the year before the Pophar set out for Grand Cairo. His lady, much younger than himself, shewed such fresh remains of beauty, as demonstrated that nothing but what sprung from herself, could equal her. Both the Pophar and his consort looked on me as their own son, nor could I expect greater favour had I really been so. I took all the care imaginable not to render myself unworthy of it, and both revered and
loved.

loved them beyond what I am able to express; tho' indeed, as I observed, the whole race of them was nothing but a kingdom of brothers and friends; no man had the least suspicion or fear of one another. They were so habituated to the observance of their laws, by their natural dispositions, and the never-ceasing vigilancy of their governors, that they seemed to have a greater horror for the breach of their laws, than the punishments attending it; saying, that infinite disorders might be committed by the malicious inventions of men, if there was nothing but fear to keep them in their duty. Such force has education and the light of nature rightly cultivated. For myself, I was left to follow what liberal employment I had a mind to. Philosophy, music, and painting had been the chief part of my study and diversion till my unhappy captivity, and the loss of my brother; but as I was fallen among a nation of philosophers, that noble science, the mistress of all others, made up the more serious part of my employment. Though, by the Pophar Regent's earnest desire, I applied myself to the other two, particularly painting. They had a great many old-fashioned musical instruments, and an infinite number of performers in their way, accompanying their feasts and public rejoicings. Their music, both vocal and instrumental, was not near so perfect as one might have expected of so polite a people, and did not come up to the elevated genius of our Italians. Their philosophy chiefly turned on the more useful part of it, that is, the mathematicks and direction of nature. In the moral part of it they have a system, or rather notion, of which I forgot to acquaint your reverences before; it is a too high and exalted notion of Providence, if that expression may be allowed, by which they imagine all things to be so governed in this world, that whatever injury a man does to another, it will be returned upon him or his posterity,

posterity, even in this world, in the same manner, or even in a greater degree, than what he did to others.

INQUISITOR.—You'll be pleased to explain your own sentiments in this particular, since we hope you do not deny that fundamental law of nature and religion; *viz.* That the divine Providence presides over all things; and as for sublunary things, we presume you believe that Providence does not only shew itself in the wonderful production and harmony conspicuous in all natural causes and effects, beyond all the wit and art of men; but also over the moral part; that is, the free actions of men, by suitable rewards and punishments in this world or the next, to make an equal and just compensation for all the goods and evils of this life, as God is the just and equal father of all. So pray explain yourself, that we may know your real sentiments on that head.

GAUDENTIO.—I hope, reverend fathers, I shall convince you, my sentiments are really orthodox in this point; no man has more reason to magnify Providence than myself; but heathenish people may carry a just belief to superstition. That there is a Providence over the physical part of the world, no man who has any just knowledge in nature, can be ignorant, and may be convinced by the least insect, every thing being adapted to its peculiar ends, with such art and knowledge in the author of it, that all the art and knowledge of men cannot do the like; and by consequence, not being able to make itself, it must be produced by a cause infinitely knowing and foreseeing. Then, as to the moral part of the world, the same reason shews, that since the great Creator descends so low as to take care of the least insect, it is incredible to think that the noblest part of the world, that is, the free actions of men, should be without his care. But as he has given them the
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glorious endowments of his free will, the same Providence knows how to adapt the direction of them by ways and means suitable to their beings; that is, by letting them know his will, and proposing suitable rewards and punishments for their good and bad actions; which rewards and punishments, it is evident, are not always seen in this life, since the wicked often prosper, and the good suffer, but by consequence must be reserved for another state.

But these people not having a just notion of the next life, though they believe a future state, carry matters so far, that they think every injury done to another, will be some way or other, retaliated upon the aggressor, or his posterity in this life; only they say, the punishment always falls the heavier the longer it is deferred. In this manner do they account for all the revolutions of the earth, that one wicked action is punished by another; that the descendants of the greatest monarchs have been lost in beggary for almost endless generations, and the persons that dispossessed them, treated after the same manner by some of the descendants of the former, and so on: which notion, in my opinion, is not just, since a sincere repentance may wipe off the most grievous offences. But, as persons, generally speaking, are more sensibly touched with the punishments of this life, it is not to be doubted but there are often most signal marks of avenging Providence in this life, in order to deter the wicked.

INQUISITOR.—Go on.

GAUDENTIO.—Finding the Pophar had a prodigious fancy for painting, by some indifferent pieces he had picked up, I applied myself with extraordinary diligence to that art, particularly since he would have me teach his daughter, whose unparalleled charms, though just in the bud, made me insensible to all others. By frequent drawing, I not only pleased him and others, but almost myself;
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every one there, men and women, were to follow some art, or science; the Pophar desired me to impart my art to some of the young people of both sexes; saying, they had very great encouragements for the inventors of any new arts, which I might justly claim a title to, with respect to their notion: I did so, and before I left the place, I had the pleasure to see some of them equal, or even excelling their master.

These were the chief employments of my leisure hours; though I was forced to leave them for considerable intervals, to attend the Regent in the private visitations of his charge, which he did frequently from time to time, sometimes to one Nome, sometimes to another, having an eye over all, both officers and people. These visitations were rather preservations against, than remedies for any disorders. He used to say, that the commonwealth was like a great machine with different movements, which if frequently visited by the artist, the least flaw being taken notice of in time, was not only soon remedied, but was a means of preserving all the rest in a constant and regular motion; but if neglected, would soon disorder the motions of the other parts, and either cost a great deal to repair, or bring the whole machine to destruction. Unless on public solemnities, which are always very magnificent, the Pophar went about without any great train, not to burden his people, accompanied by only an assisting elder or two, the young Pophar and myself, he holding frequent consultations with the subalterns, and even with the meanest artificers, calling them his children; and they having recourse to him as their common father. For the first five years of his regency, the only difficulty we had of any moment to determine, was an affair of the most delicate nature I ever heard: though it does not concern myself, I shall relate it to your reverences for the peculiar circumstances

circumstances of it, it being a case entirely new, as well as unprovided for by the laws in their constitution.

The case was thus:—Two twin brothers had fallen in love with the same woman, and she with them. The men and the woman lived in different parts of the same Nome, and met accidentally at one of their great solemnities; it was at the feast of the sun, which is kept twice a year, because, as I informed your reverences, their kingdom lies between the tropicks, but more on this side the line than the other. This situation is the occasion that they have two springs and two summers. At the beginning of each spring, there are great feasts in every Nome, in honour of the sun; they are held in the open fields, in testimony of his being the immediate cause (in their opinion) of the production of all things. All the sacrifice they offer to him, are five little pyramids of incense, according to the number of their Nomes, placed on the altar in plates of gold, till they take fire of themselves. Five young men and as many women are deputed by the governors to perform the office of placing the pyramids of incense on the altar, clad in their spangled robes of the colour of the Nome, with crowns on their heads, marching up two by two, a man and a woman, between two rows of young men and women, placed theatre-wise, one above another, and make the most beautiful shew that eyes can behold. It happened that one of the twin brothers was deputed, with the young lady I am speaking of, to make the first couple for the placing the incense on the altar. They marched up on different sides till they came to the altar. When they have placed the incense, they salute each other, and cross down, he by the ranks of the women, and she by the men, which they do with a wonderful grace becoming such an august assembly. The design of this is to encourage a decorum
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in the carriage of the young people, and to give them a sight of each other in their greatest lustre. When the five couple have performed their ceremony, the other ranks come two by two to the altar, saluting each other, and crossing as before, by which means the young people have an opportunity of seeing every man and woman of the whole company, tho' the placing of them is done by lot. If they have not any engagement before, they generally take the first liking to one another at such interviews; and the woman's love and choice being what determines the marriage, without any views of interest, being, as I said, all equal in quality, the young gallants make it their business to gain the affection of the person they like by their future services. To prevent inconveniencies of rivalship at the beginning, if the man be the person the woman likes, he presents her with a flower just in the bud, which she takes and puts in her breast. If she is engaged before, she shews him one, to signify her engagement; which if in the bud only, shews the courtship is gone no further than the first proposal and liking; if half-blown, or the like, it is an emblem of further progress; if full-blown, it signifies that her choice is determined, from whence they can never recede; that is, she can change the man that presents it, but he cannot challenge her till she has worn it publicly. If any dislike should happen after that, they are to be shut up, never to have any husband. If she has no engagement, but does not approve of the person, she makes him a low courtesy, with her eyes shut till he is gone away. The women, it is true, for all this, have some little coquettish arts, dissembling their affections now and then, but not often. If the man be engaged, he wears some favour or other to shew it; if he likes not the woman, he presents her with nothing; if the woman should make some extraordinary advances, without any of his side, she has

has liberty to live a maid, or to be disposed of among the widows, being looked upon as such, who, by the bye, marry none but widowers. But to return to the twins,—it happened that the brother who went with the lady to the altar, seeing she had no bud upon her breast, fell in love with her, and she with him; the awe of the ceremony hindered them from taking any further notice of one another at that time. As she went down the ranks, the other brother saw her, and fell in love with her likewise, and contrives to meet her with a bud in his hand, just as the ceremony ended, which she accepts of, taking him to be the person who had marched up with her to the altar; but being obliged to go off with the other young ladies; whether the concern she had been in, in performing the ceremony before such an illustrious assembly, or the heat of the weather, or the joy she conceived in finding her affection reciprocal, or all together, had such an effect, that she fell into a fainting fit among her companions; who opening her bosom in haste, not minding the flower, it fell down, and was trod under foot. Just as she was recovered, the brother who performed the ceremony, came up and presented his bud; she thinking it had been that she had lost, received it with a look that shewed he had made a greater progress in her affections than what the flower expressed; the laws not permitting any further conversation at that juncture, they retired to their respective habitations. Some time after, the brother who had the luck to present the first flower, who for distinction I shall call the younger brother, as he really was, found a way to make her a visit by stealth, at a grated window, which, as I observed, was publicly prohibited by the wise governors, but privately connived at to enhance their love. He came to her, and after some amorous conversation, makes bold to present her the more advanced mark
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of his affection, which she accepted of, and gave him in return a scarf worked with hearts, separated by little brambles, to shew there was some difficulties for him to overcome yet. However, they gave one another mutual assurances of love, and he was permitted to profess himself her lover, without declaring her name, for some private reasons she had.— Not long after, the elder brother came and procured an opportunity of meeting her at the same window. The night was very dark, so that he could not see the second flower which she had in her bosom, only she received him with greater signs of joy and freedom than he expected; but reflecting on the signs he had remarked in her countenance, and after her illness, by a sort of natural vanity for his own merits, flattered himself that her passion was rather greater than his, excused himself for being so long without seeing her, and added, that if he were to be guided by the height of his flame, he would see her every night. She reflecting how lately she had seen him, thought his diligence was very extraordinary, but imputed it to the ardour of his passion. In fine, she gave him such assured signs of love, that he thought in himself he might pass the middle ceremony, and present her with a full-blown flower, to make sure of her. She took it, but told him, she would not wear it for some time, till she had passed some forms, and had further proof of his constancy; but for his confirmation of her affection, she put out her hand as far as the grate would permit, which he kissed with all the ardour of an inflamed lover; gives her a thousand assurances of his fidelity, and she in return gave him a ribbon with two hearts interwoven with her own hair, separated only with a little hedge of pomegranates, almost ripe, to shew that the time of gathering the fruit was nigh at hand. Thus were the three lovers in the greatest degree of happiness imaginable. The brothers wore
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her favours on all public occasions, congratulating each other for the success in their amours; but as lovers affect a secrecy in all they do, never telling one another who were the objects of their affection, the next great feast drew on, when the younger brother thought it was time to present the last mark of his affection, in order to demand her in marriage, which was usually performed in those public solemnities. He told her, he hoped it was now time to reward his flame, by wearing the open flower, as a full sign of her consent, and gave her a full-blown artificial carnation, with gold flames and little hearts on the leaves, interwoven with wonderful art and ingenuity: she thinking it had been a repetition of the ardour of his affection, took it, and put it in her bosom, with all the marks of tenderness by which the fair sex in all countries know how to reward all the pains of their lovers in a moment. Upon this he resolved to ask her of her parents, which was the only thing necessary on his side, the woman having right to demand any man's son in the kingdom; if he had but presented her with the last mark of his affection. The elder brother having given in his some time before, thought the parents approbation was the only thing wanting on his side, and resolves the same day on the same thing. They were strangely surpris'd to meet one another, but seeing the different favours, they did not know what to make of it. When the father came, they declared the cause of their coming, in terms which earnestly expressed the agony of their minds: the father was in as great concern as they were, assuring them, he had but one daughter, who, he was confident, would never give such encouragement to two lovers at the same time, contrary to their laws; but seeing their extreme likeness, he guessed there must be some mistake.— Upon this the daughter was sent for, who, being informed it was to declare her consent in the choice

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of her lover, came down with four flowers in her bosom, not thinking but the two full-blown had belonged to the same person, since she had received two before she had worn the first. The description the poets give of the goddess *Venus* rising out of the sea could not be more beautiful than the bloom that appeared in her cheeks when she came into the room. I happened to be there present, being sent before by the Pophar, to let the father know of the Regent's intended visit; he being a considerable officer, was to order his concerns accordingly. As soon as the young lady heard the cause of their coming, and seeing them indistinguishably like each other, with the public signs of her favours wrought with her own hand, which they brought along with them, she screamed out, "I am betrayed!" and immediately fell into a swoon flat on the floor, almost between her two lovers. The father, in a condition very little better, fell down by his daughter, and bathing her with his tears, called to her to open her eyes, or he must die along with her. The young men stood like statues, with rage and despair in their looks at the same time. I being the only indifferent person in the room, though extremely surprised at the event, called her mother and women to come to her assistance; they carried her into another room, undressed her, and by proper remedies, brought her at last to herself; the first word she said was "Oh! *Berilla*, what have you done!" All the rest was nothing but sobs and sighs, enough to melt the hardest heart. When she was in a condition to explain herself, she declared, she liked the person of the man who went up with her to the altar; that some time after, the same person, as she thought, had presented her with the first marks of his affection, which she accepted of, and, in fine, had given her consent by wearing the full-blown flower; but which of the two brothers it belonged to, she could not tell; adding,

adding, she was willing to submit to the decision of the elders, or to undergo what punishment they thought fit for her heedless indiscretion, though she never designed to entertain two persons at the same time, but took them to be the same person. The care of the marriages being one of the fundamentals of their government, and there being no provision in the law for this extraordinary case, the matter was referred to the Pophar Regent, who was to be there in a few days, with guards set over the brothers for fear of mischief, till a full hearing. The affair was discussed before the Pophar Regent, and the rest of the elders of the place. The three lovers were present before them, each of them in such an agony as cannot be expressed. The brothers were so alike, it was hard to distinguish which was which; the Regent asked them, which of the two went up to the altar with the young lady; the elder said it was he, which the younger did not deny. The lady being interrogated, owned she designed to entertain the person that went up with her to the altar, but went no farther than the first liking. Then they asked, which of the two brothers gave the first flower,—the younger said, he presumed he did, since he fell in love with her as she went down the ranks, and contrived to give her the flower as soon as the ceremony was over, not knowing of his brothers affection, neither did she bear any mark of engagement, but accepted of his service; the lady likewise owning the receipt of such a flower, but lost it, fainting away in the crowd; but when, as she thought, he restored it to her, she did not like him quite so well, as when she received it the first time, supposing them to be the same person. Being asked who gave her the second, third, and last mark of engagement, it appeared to be the younger brother, whose flower she wore publicly in her bosom; but then she received the full-blown flower from the elder brother

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brother also. The judges looked at one another for some time, not knowing well what to say to the matter. Then the Regent asked her, when she gave her consent, if she did not understand the person to be him that went up with her to the altar; she owned she did, which was the elder, but in fact had placed her affections on the person who gave her the first flower, which was the younger. Then the two brothers were placed before her, and she was asked, that supposing she were now at liberty, without any engagement, which of the two brothers she would chuse for her husband;—she stopped, and blushed at the question, but at length said, the younger had been more assiduous in his courtship, and with that burst into tears, casting a look at the younger brother, which easily shewed the sentiments of her heart. Every one was in the last suspense how the Regent would determine the case; but the young men expressed such a concern in their looks, as if the last sentence of life and death, happiness or misery, was to be pronounced over them. When the Regent, with a countenance partly severe as well as grave, turning towards the young lady, daughter, said he, your ill fortune, or indiscretion, has deprived you from having either of them; both you cannot have, and you have given both an equal right; if either of them will give up their right, you may marry the other, not else. What do you say, sons, says he, will you contribute to make one of you happy? They both persisted they would not give up their right till the last gasp. Then, says the Regent, turning to the lady, who was almost dead with fear and confusion, since neither of them will give up their right, I pronounce sentence on you, to be shut up from the commerce of men, till the death of one of your lovers; then it shall be left to your choice to marry the survivor; so giving orders to have her taken away, the court was going to break up, when the younger brother falling on his knees,

knees, cried out, I yield my right rather than the adorable *Berilla* should be miserable on my account; let be shut up from the commerce of men, for being the occasion of so divine a creature's misfortune: take her, brother, and be happy, and you, divine *Berilla*, only pardon the confusion my innocent love has brought upon you, and then I shall leave the world in peace. Here the whole court rose up, and the young man was going out when the Regent stopped him; hold, son, say he, there is a greater happiness preparing for you than you expect; *Berilla* is yours, you alone deserve her, you love her good more than your own; as I find her real love is for you, here, join your hands, as I find your hearts are already; so they were married immediately, the Regent leaving behind him a vast idea not only of his justice, but wisdom, in so intricate a case. I drew an historical piece of painting of this remarkable trial, expressing as nigh as I could, the postures and agonies of three lovers, and presented it to the divine *Isyphena*, the Regent's daughter, telling her, that if she were to receive flowers as that young lady did, she would ruin all the youths in Mezorania. She received it blushing, and said, she should never receive any but from one hand, nor even that, if she thought she should do him any harm; adding, her father had given a just judgment, but turned off the discourse with such innocence, yet knowledge of what she said, that I was surprised to the last degree, not being able to guess whether I had offended her or not.

These visitations in the company of the Pophar, gave me the opportunity of seeing all the different parts and chief curiosities of the whole empire.— Their great towns, especially the heads of every Nome, were built, as I said, much after the same form, differing chiefly in the situation. These are chiefly designed for the winter residence, for their

courts and colleges, but particularly for instructing and polishing their youth of both sexes, but with such admirable care and œconomy, to avoid all dissoluteness and idleness; that, as I observed before, there is no such thing known, as that any person should have no other business on their hands but visits and dress, esteeming those no better than brutes and barbarians, who are not constantly employed, improving their natural talents in some art or science. Their villas, or places of pleasure, are scattered all over the country, with most beautiful variety; their villages and towns for manufactures, trades, convenience of agriculture, &c. are innumerable; their canals, and great lakes, some of them like little seas, are very frequent, according as the nature of the country will allow; with pleasure-houses and pavilions, built at due distances round the borders, interspersed with islands and groves, some natural, some artificial; where, at proper seasons, you might see thousands of boats skimming backwards and forwards, both for the pleasure and profit of fishing; of which there is an inexhaustible store: there are also vast forests of infinite variety and delight, distinguished here and there with theatrical spaces or lawns, either natural or cut out by hand, for the convenience of pitching their tents, in the hot seasons; with such romantic scenes of deep vales, hanging woods, and precipices, natural falls and cascades, or rather cataracts of water over the rocks; that all the decorations of art, are nothing but foils and shadows to those majestic beauties of nature; besides the glorious prospects of different kinds over the edges of the mountains, where we passed in our visitations; sometimes presenting us with a boundless view over the most delicious plains in the world; in other places, having our view terminated with other winding hills, exhaling their reviving perfumes from innumerable species of natural fruits and odoriferous shrubs.

stirubs. Travelling thus by easy journeys, staying
 or advancing in our progress as we thought fit, I
 admired with infinite delight, the effects of industry
 and liberty, in a country where nature and art seem-
 ed to vie with each other in their different produc-
 tions. There was another extraordinary satisfac-
 tion I received in these visitations, which was the
 opportunity of seeing, and partaking of their grand
 matches, or rather companies, if I may use the ex-
 pression, of their hunting and fishing. All the young
 people with their governors, or all who are able,
 or willing to go, at particular seasons, disperse
 themselves for these hunts all over the kingdom :
 the country being so prodigiously fertile, that it pro-
 vides them almost of itself whatever is necessary, or
 even delectable for life ; the people living in some
 measure in common, and having no other interest
 but that of a well regulated community. They leave
 the towns at certain seasons, and go and live in tents
 for the conveniency of hunting and fishing, accord-
 ing as the country and seasons are proper for each
 recreation. The flat part of the country (though it
 is generally more hilly than campaign) is stocked
 with prodigious quantities of fowl and game, as
 pheasants, partridges of different kinds, much larger
 than our wild hens ; turkeys and peacocks, with
 other species of game, which we have in Italy ;
 hares, almost innumerable, but no coneys that ever
 I saw ; unless we call coneys a lesser sort of hare,
 which feed and run along the cliffs and rocks, but
 do not burrough as ours do. There is also a small
 sort of wild goat much less than ours, not very fleet,
 of a very high taste, and prodigiously fat ; they take
 vast quantities of all sorts, but still leave sufficient
 stock to supply next season, except hurtful beasts,
 which they kill whenever they can. But their great
 hunts are in the mountains and woodland parts of the
 country, where the forests are full of infinite quan-
 tities

ties of mast and fruits, and other food for wild beasts of all kinds; but particularly stags of four or five different species; some of which keep in the wildest parts, almost as big as an horse, whose flesh they dry and season with spices, and is the richest food I ever tasted. Their wild swine are of two kinds, some vastly large, others very little, not much bigger than a lamb, but prodigiously fierce. This is the most delicate meat, feeding on the masts and wild fruits in thickest part of the groves, multiplying exceedingly, where they are not disturbed, one sow bringing sixteen or eighteen pigs; so that I have seen thousands of them caught at one hunting match, and sent for presents to the other parts of the kingdom, where they have none; which is their way in all their recreations, having persons appointed to carry the rarities of the country to one another, and to the governors, parents, and friends left behind. When they go up to their grand hunt, they chuse some open vale, or vast lawn, as far in the wild forests as they can, where they pitch their tents and there make rendezvous; then they send out their most courageous young men in small bodies of ten in a company, well armed, each with his spear and fusée slung on his back, which of late years they find more serviceable against wild beasts than spears, having got samples of them from Persia. These go quietly through the wildest parts of the forest at proper distances, so as to meet at such a place, which is to view the ground, and find a place proper to make their stand and pitch their toils. They will be several days out about this, but are to make no noise, nor kill any wild beast, unless attacked; or come upon him in his couch at unawares, that they may not disturb the rest. When they have made their report, several thousands of them surround a considerable part of the forest, standing close together for their mutual assistance, making as great a noise

a noise as they can with dogs, drums, and rattles, and other noisy instruments, to frighten the game towards the centre, that none may escape the circle. When this is done, all advance in a breast, encouraging their dogs, sounding their horns, beating their drums and rattles, that the most courageous beasts are all roused, and run before them towards the centre, till by this means they have driven together several hundreds of wild beasts, lions, elks, wild boars, stags, foxes, hares, in fine, all such sorts of beasts as were within that circle. It is most terrible to see such a heap of cruel beasts gathered together, grinning and roaring at one another in a most frightful manner; but the wild boar is the master of all. Whoever comes near him in that rage, even the largest lion, he strikes at him with his tusks and makes him keep his distance. When they are brought within a proper compass, they pitch their toils round them, and enclose them in, every man joining close to his neighbour, holding out their spears to keep them off. If any beast should endeavour to escape, which some will do now and then, (particularly the wild boars) they run a-head against the points of the spears, and make very martial sport. They told me, that once a prodigious wild sow broke through three files of spears, overturned the men, and made a gap that set them all a running almost in a body that way; that they were forced to open and let them take their career, and so lost all their labour. But now they have men ready with their fuses to drop any beast that should offer to turn a-head. When they are enclosed, there is most terrible work, the greatest beasts fighting and going one another for rage and spite, and the more fearful running into the toils for shelter. Then our men with their fuses drop the largest as fast as they can. When they shoot the wild boar, three or four aim at him at a time, to be sure to drop him-

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or disable him, otherwise he runs full at the last that wounded him, with such fury, that sometimes he will break through the strongest toils; but his companions all join their spears to keep him off.— When they have dropped all that are dangerous, and as much as they have a mind, they open their toils and dispatch all that are gasping. I have known above an hundred head of beasts of all sorts killed in one day. Then they carry off their spoil to the rendezvous, feasting and rejoicing, and sending presents as before.

There is oftentimes very great danger when they go through the woods to make discovery of their haunts; because, going in small companies, some stubborn beast or other will attack them directly; every man, as I said, has a fusée slung at his back, and his spear in his hand for his defence. Being once in one of their parties, we stumbled on a prodigiously wild boar, as he was lying in his haunt just in our way; some of us were passing by him, but I thought such a noble prey was not to be let go; so we surrounded him, and drew up to him with more courage and curiosity than prudence: one of my companions, who was my intimate friend, being one of those who conducted me over the deserts, came up nigher to him than the rest, with his spear in his hands, stretched out ready to receive him, in case he should come at him; at which the beast started up of a sudden, with a noise that would have terrified the stoutest hero, and made at him with such a fury that we gave him for lost. He stood his ground with so much courage, and held his spear so firm and exact, that he run it directly up the mouth of the beast, quite into the inner part of his throat; the boar roared and shook his head in a terrible manner, endeavouring to get the spear out, which if he had done, all the world could not have saved the young man. I, seeing the danger, ran in with the same precipitancy,

cipitancy, and clapping the muzzle of my gun almost close to his side, a little behind his fore-shoulder, shot him quite through the body; so he dropped down quite dead before us. Just as we thought the danger was over, the sow, hearing his cry, came rushing on us, and that so suddenly, that before I could turn myself with my spear, she struck at me behind with her snout, and pushing on at the same time, knocked me down with her impetuosity, and the place being a little shelving, came tumbling quite over me, which was the occasion of saving my life. I was scarce got on my feet, and on my guard, not only ashamed of the foil, but very well apprised of the danger, when making at me alone, though my companions came in to my assistance, she pushed at me a second time with equal fury. I held my spear with all my might, thinking to take her in the mouth, but missing my aim, I took her just in the throat, where the head and neck join, and thrust my spear with such force, her own career meeting me, that I struck quite through her windpipe, striking the spear in her neck-bone so fast, that when she dropt, we could scarce get it out again. She tossed and reeled her head a good while before she fell; but her windpipe being cut, and bleeding inwardly, she was soon choaked. My companions had hit her with their spears on the sides and back, but her hide and bristles were so thick and hard, they did her very little damage. They all applauded my courage and victory, as if I had killed both the swine. But I, as justice required, gave the greatest part of the glory, for the death of the boar, to the courageous dexterity of the young man, who had exposed himself so generously, and hit him so exact in the throat. We left the carcases there, not being able to carry them off; but marking the place, when we had made our observations, we brought others with us to carry them off. I had the honor to carry the boar's head on the

the point of my spear, which I would have given to the young man, but he refused it, saying, I had not only killed it, but saved his life into the bargain. The honor being judg'd to me by every one, I sent it away as a present to the divine *Isphena*, a thing allowed by their customs, though as yet I never durst make any declarations of love. She accepted of it, but added, she hoped I would make no more such presents, and explained herself any further.

These people having no wars, nor combats with men, which are not allowed for fear of destroying their own species, have no other way of shewing their courage but against wild beasts; where, without waiting for any express order of their superiors, they will expose themselves to a great degree, and sometimes perform exploits worthy the greatest heroes.

Their fishing is of two kinds, one for recreation and profit, the other to destroy the crocodiles and alligators, which are only found in the great lakes and the rivers that run into them, and that in the hotter and campaign parts of the country. In some lakes, even the largest, they cannot live, in others they breed prodigiously. As they fish for them, only to destroy them, they chuse the properest time for it, that is, when the eggs are hatching; which is done in the hot sands, by the sides of the rivers and lakes. The old ones are not only very ravenous at that time, but lie lurking in the water near their eggs, and are so prodigiously fierce, that there is no taking their eggs, unless you contrive to kill the old ones before. Their way to fish for them is thus; they beat at a distance, by the sides of the rivers and lakes, where they breed, which makes the old ones hide themselves in the water; then twenty or thirty of the young men row quietly backward and forward on the water, where they suppose the creatures are; having a great many strong lines with hooks, made after the manner of fish-hooks, well armed as

far as the throat of the animal reaches. These hooks they fasten under the wings of ducks and water-fowls, kept for the purpose, which they let drop out of the boat, and swim about the lake. Whenever the ducks come over the places where the creatures are, they strike at them, and swallow the poor duck immediately, and so hook themselves with the violence and check of the boat. As soon as one is hooked, they tow him floundering and beating the water at a strange rate, till they have brought him into the middle from the rest of his companions, who all lie near the banks; then the other boats surround him, and dart their harping-spears at him till they kill him. These harping-spears are pointed with the finest tempered steel, extremely sharp, with beards to hinder them from coming out of his body; there is a line fastened to the spear to draw it back, and the creature along with it; as also to hinder the spear from flying too far if they miss their aim.—Some of them are prodigiously dextrous at it; but there is no piercing the creature but on his belly, which they must hit as he flounders and rolls himself in the water. If a spear hits the scales of his back, it will fly off as from a rock, not without some danger to those who are very nigh, though they generally know the length of the string. I was really apprehensive of those strange fierce creatures at first, and took a considerable time before I could dart with any dexterity; but the desire of glory, and the applauses which are given to those that excel, who have the skins carried like trophies before their mistresses; this, and the charms of the Regent's daughter, so inspired me, that I frequently carried the prize. It is one of the finest recreations in the world; you might see several hundred boats at a time, either employed, or as spectators, with shouts and cries when the creature is hit in the right place, that makes the very banks tremble. When they have killed all the

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old ones, they send their people on the shore to rake for the eggs, which they burn and destroy on the spot; not but some will be hatched before the rest, and creep into the water to serve for sport the next year. They destroy these animals, not only for their own security in the use of the lakes, but also to preserve the wild fowl and fish, which are devoured and destroyed by the crocodiles.

But the fishing on the great lake Gil-gol, or lake of lakes, is without any danger, there being no alligators in that water, and is only for recreation and the profit of the fish. The lake is above an hundred Italian miles in circumference.* At proper seasons the whole lake is covered with boats; great numbers of them full of ladies to see the sports, besides what are on the islands and shores, with trumpets, hautboys, and other musical instruments playing all the while. It is impossible to describe the different kinds of fish the lake abounds with; such as we know nothing of in Europe; though they have some like ours, but much larger, as pikes, or a fish like a pike, two or three yards long; a fish like a bream, a yard and an half over; carps, forty or fifty pounds weight; they catch incredible numbers of them; some kinds in one part of the lake, some in another. They fish thus, and feast on what they catch for a fortnight or three weeks, if the season proves kind, retiring at night to their tents, either on the islands or shore, where there are persons employed in drying and curing what are proper for use; sending presents of them into other parts of the country, in exchange for venison, fowl, and the like. Though there are noble lakes and ponds even in the forests, made by the enclosures of the hills and woods, that are stored with excellent fish, yet they are

* The lake Meris, in Egypt, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Herodotus*, quoted by the Bishop of Meaux, *Hist. Uni. Sec. 3.* was an hundred and fourscore French leagues in circumference.

are entirely destitute of the best sort, that is sea-fish. When this fishing is over, they retire to the towns, because of the rainy seasons, which begin presently after.

I am going now to enter into a part of my life of which I am in some doubt whether it is proper to lay before your reverences or not; I mean the hopes and fears, the joys and anxieties of a young man in love; but in an honorable way, with no less a person than the daughter of the Regent of this vast empire. Though I shall not enter into the detail of the many various circumstances attending such a passion, but shall just touch on some particular passages which are very extraordinary, even in a passion which generally, of itself, runs into extremes. Your reverences will remember, that there is no real distinction of quality in these people, nor any regard either to interest or dignity, but merely to personal merit; their chief view being to render that state happy, which makes up the better part of human life. I had nothing therefore to do in this affair but to fix my choice, and endeavour to please and be pleased. My choice was soon determined; the first time I saw the incomparable *Isiphena*, the Regent's daughter, though she was then but ten years old, ten thousand budding beauties appeared in her, with such unutterable charms, that although I as good as despaired of arriving at my wished-for happiness, I was resolved to fix there or no where.

I observed, when I was first introduced into her company, by the Regent her father, she had her eye fixed on me, as a stranger as I supposed, but yet with more than a girlish curiosity. I was informed afterwards that she told her play-fellows, that that stranger should be her husband, or no one. The wise Pophar, her father, had observed it, and whether it was from his knowledge of the sex, and their unaccountable fondness for strangers, or whether he

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disapproved

disapproved of the thought, I cannot tell, but he was resolved to try both our constancies to the utmost. I was obliged by the Pophar to teach her and some other young ladies, as well as the young men, to paint, but it was always in the father or mother's company. Not to detain your reverences with matters quite foreign to, and perhaps unworthy your cognizance, it was five years before I durst let her see the least glimmering of my affection. She was now fifteen, which was the height of her bloom. Her father seeing she carried no mark of any engagement, asked her in a familiar way, if her eyes had made no conquests; she blushed and said, she hoped not. He told me also as a friend, that I was older than their customs cared to allow young men to live single, and with a smile asked me if the charms of the Bassa's daughter, of Grand Cairo, had extinguished in me all thoughts of love. I told him, there were objects enough in Mezorania to make one forget any thing one had seen before, but that being a stranger, I was willing to be thoroughly acquainted with the genius of the people, lest I should make any one unhappy. I was just come back from one of our visitations, when I was struck with the most lively sense of grief I ever felt in my life. I had always observed before, that *Isipheta* never wore any sign of engagement, but then I found she carried a bud in her bosom; I fell ill immediately upon it, which she perceiving, came to see me without any bud, as she used to be before, keeping her eyes upon me to see what effect it would have. Seeing her continue without any marks of engagement, I recovered, and made bold to tell her one day, that I could not but pity the miserable person, whoever he was, who had lost the place in her bosom he had before. She said unconcernedly, that both the wearing and taking away the flower from her bosom, was done out of kindness to the person. I was then
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so taken up with contrary thoughts, that I did not perceive she meant to try whether she was the object of my thoughts or not. However, finding she carried no more marks of engagement, I was resolved to try my fortune for life or death, when an opportunity offered beyond my wish. Her mother brought her to perfect a piece of painting she was drawing; I observed a melancholy and trouble in her countenance I had never seen before; that moment the mother was sent for to the Regent; I made use of it to ask her, what it was that affected her in so sensible a manner; I pronounced these words with such emotion and concern on my own part, that she might easily see I was in some very great agony. She expressed a great deal of confusion at the question, insomuch, that without answering a word, she got up and went out of the room, leaving me leaning against the wall almost without life or motion. Other company coming in, I was roused out of my lethargy, and shrunk away to my own apartment, but agitated with such numberless fears, as left me almost destitute of reason. However, I was resolved to make a most just discovery, and to be fully determined in my happiness or misery. There was a grated window on the back-side of the palace where I had seen *Ispheha* walk sometimes, but never dared to approach; I went thither in the evening, and saw her by herself. I ventured to it, and falling on my knees, asked her for heaven's sake what was the matter, or if I had offended her? She immediately burst into tears, and just said, ask no more, and withdrew; though I cannot say with any signs of indignation. Some time after I was sent for to teach her in the finishing of her piece. I must tell your reverences, that I had privately drawn that picture of her which you saw, and put the little boy in afterwards. In a hurry I had left it behind me in my closet, which the Pophar had found accidentally.

and taken away without my knowledge; he had shewn it to the mother, and making as if he did not mind *Isiphena*, who stood by and saw it, (as she thought undiscerned) then seemed to talk in a threatening tone to the mother about it. When I came in, I had just courage enough to cast one glance at *Isiphena*, when methought I saw her eyes meet mine, and shewed a mixture of comfort and trouble at the same time. As this subject cannot be very proper for your reverences ears, I shall comprise in half an hour what cost me whole years of sighs and solicitude, though happily crowned at last with unspeakable joys. This trouble in *Isiphena* was, that having made herself mistress of the pencil, she had privately drawn my picture in miniature, which she kept secretly in her bosom, but that had been discovered by the mother, as mine was by the father, who to try her constancy, had expressed the utmost indignation at it; but her greatest trouble was, lest I should know, and take it for a discovery of her love, before I had made any overtures of mine. In process of time we came to an eclairsissement, she received my two first flowers; but because I was half a stranger to their race, we were to give some more signal proof of our love and constancy than ordinary. We had frequently common occasions offered us, such as might be looked upon as the greatest trials. She was the paragon not only of the kingdom, but possibly of the universe for all perfections as could be found in her sex. Her stature was about the middle size; the just proportion of her shape made her really taller than she seemed to be; her hair was black* indeed, but of a much finer gloss than the rest, nor quite so much curled, hanging down in easy tresses over her shoulders, and shading

* The author being an Italian, did not think black hair so beautiful.

shading some part of her beautiful cheeks. Her eyes, though not so large as our Europeans, darted such lustre, with a mixture of sweetness and vivacity, that it was impossible not to be charmed with their rays; her features were not only the most exact, but inimitable and peculiar to herself. In fine, her nose, mouth, teeth, turn of the face, all concurring together to form the most exquisite symmetry, and adorned with the bloom beyond all the blushes of the new-born aurora, rendered her the most charming, and the most dangerous object in nature. The noblest and gayest youths of all the land paid their homages to her adorable perfections, but all in vain, she avoided doing hurt where she could do no good; she did not so much scorn as shut her eyes to all their offers, though such a treasure gave me ten thousand anxieties before I knew what share I had in it; but when once she received my addresses, the security her constant virtue gave me was proportionable to the immense value of her person. For my part, I had some trials on my side. I was surrounded with beauties who found a great many ways to shew me they had no dislike to me. Whether being a stranger of different features and make from their youth, gave them a more pleasing curiosity, or the tallness of my stature, something exceeding any of theirs, or the gaiety of my temper, which gave me a freer air than is usual with them, being as I observed, naturally too grave be that as it will, *Isphena's* bright sense easily saw I made some sacrifices to her; but we had greater trials than all this to undergo, which I shall briefly relate to your reverences, for the particularity of them. When I thought I was almost arrived at the height of my happiness, being assured of the heart of the divine *Isphena*, the Popbar came to me one day with the most seeming concern in his countenance I ever marked in him, even beyond that of the affair with the Great Bassa's daughter. After a little pause, he told me,

me, he had observed the love between his daughter and myself, that out of kindness to my person, he had consulted their wise men about it, who all concluded, that on account of my being a stranger, and not of the race by the father's side, I could never marry his daughter ; so that I must either solemnly renounce all pretensions to her, or be shut up for ever without any commerce with his people till death. But, says he, to shew that we do justice to your merit, you are to have a public statue erected in your honor, because you have taught us the art of painting, which is to be crown'd with a garland of flowers, by the most beautiful young woman in the kingdom ; thus you live to glory, though you are dead to the world. But if you will renounce all pretensions to my daughter, we will furnish you with riches sufficient, with the handsomeness of your person, to gain the greatest princess in the world, provided you will give a solemn oath never to discover the way to this place. I fell down on my knees before him, and cried out, here take me, shut me up, kill me, cut me in a thousand pieces, I will never renounce *Isiphena*. He said no more, but that their laws must be obeyed. I observed tears in his eyes as he went out, which made me see he was in earnest. I had scarce time to reflect on my miserable state, or rather was incapable of any reflection at all, when four persons came in with a dismal heaviness in their looks, and bid me come along with them ; they were to conduct me to the place of my confinement. In the mean time, the Pophar goes to his daughter, and tells her the same thing, only added, that I was to be sent back to my own country, loaded with such immense riches, as might procure me the love of any woman in the world ; for, says he, those barbarians, meaning the Europeans, will marry their daughters to any one who has but riches enough to buy them ; the men will do the same with respect to the women :

men: let the woman be whose daughter she will, if she had but money enough to purchase a kingdom, a king would marry her. Before he had pronounced all this, *Isiphena* had not strength to hear it out, but fell down in a swoon at his feet; when she was come to herself, he endeavoured to comfort her, and added, that she was to have the young Popphar's son, a youth about her age; for though he was not old enough to govern, he was old enough to have children; he went on and told her, I was to have a statue erected in honor of me, to be crowned by the fairest woman in all Mezorania, which, says he, is judged to be yourself; and if you refuse it, *Amnophilla* is to be the person. This was the most beautiful woman next *Isiphena*, and by some thought equal to her, whose signs of her approbation and liking to my person, I had taken no notice of, for the sake of *Isiphena*. She answer'd with a resolution that was surprising, even to her father, that she would die before she would be wanting in her duty, but that their laws allowed her to chuse whom she pleased for her husband, without being undutiful; that as for the crowning of the statue, she accepted of it, not for the reason he gave, but to pay her last respects to my memory, who she was sure would never marry any one else. As for the young Popphar, she would give her answer when the ceremony was over. When all things were ready for the ceremony, there was public proclamation made in all parts of the Nome, that, whereas I had brought into the kingdom, and freely communicated to them, the noble art of painting, I was to have a public statue erected in my honor, to be crowned with a crown of flowers by the hand of the fairest woman in all Mezorania. Accordingly a statue of full proportion, of the finest polished marble, was erected in one of their spacious squares, with my name engraved on the pedestal, in golden characters, setting forth

forth the service I had done the commonwealth, &c. The statue had the picture of *Isiphena* in one hand, and the emblems of the art in the other. The last kindness I was to receive, was to be permitted to see the ceremony with a perspective glass, from the top of an high tower belonging to the place of my confinement, from whence I could discern every minute circumstance that passed. Immediately the crowd opened to make way for *Isiphena*, who came in the Regent's triumphant chariot, drawn by eight white horses, all caparisoned with gold and precious stones, herself more resplendant than the sun they adored. There was a scaffold with a throne upon it, just close to the statue, with gilt steps, for her to go up to put the crown on the head of it. As soon as she appeared a shout of joy ran through the whole crowd, applauding the choice of her beauty, and the work she was going to perform: then proclamation was made again for the same intent, setting forth the reasons of the ceremony. When all was silent, she steps from the throne to the degrees with the crown in her hand, holding it up to be seen by all, supported by *Amnophilla* and *Menisa*, two of the most beautiful virgins after herself. There appeared a serenity in the looks of *Isiphena* beyond what could be expected, expressing a fixt resolution at the same time. As soon as she had put the crown on the head of the statue, which was applauded with repeated shouts and acclamations, she stood still for some time, with an air that shewed she was determined for some great action, and turning to the officers, ordered them to make proclamation, that every one should remark what she was going to do. Upon this there was a profound silence through the whole assembly; then she went up the steps again, taking out the most conspicuous flower in the whole crown, and putting it in the right hand of the statue, claps it into her bosom, with the other two she had received

received from me before, as a sign of her consent for marriage, which could not be violated, at which there arose a shout ten times louder than any before, applauding such an heroic act of constancy, as had never been seen in Mezorania. The Regent ran up to her, and embracing her with tears of joy trickling down his cheeks, said, she should have her choice, since she had fulfilled the law, and supplied all defect by that extraordinary act of fidelity, with orders to have that heroic action registered in the public records, for an example and encouragement of constancy to posterity. But the people cried out, where is the man? where is the man? let their constancy be rewarded immediately.

Here the reader, as well as the publisher, will lament the irreparable loss of the sheets, which were mislead at his coming over; he does not pretend to charge his memory with what they contained; just having had time to run them over in the Italian, when Signor Rhedi got them copied out for him. As far as the publisher remembers, the lost sheets contained several discourses between the Pophar and Gaudenzio, concerning religion, philosophy, politicks, and the like; with the account of the loss of his wife and children, and some other accidents that befel him during his stay in the country, which, as we shall see, induced him to leave the place; with several curious remarks of Signor Rhedi; all which, would doubtless have given a great deal of satisfaction to the reader; but no one can be so much concerned for the loss as the publisher,

lifter, since they cannot now be repaired, by reason of the death of the same Signor Rhedi; never to be sufficiently regretted by the learned world.

These discourses* made very great impressions on the mind of a person of so much penetration as the Regent was, insomuch, that he seemed resolved when his regency was out, which wanted now but a year, to go along with me into Europe, during the stay he was to make at Grand Cairo, to examine matters at the fountain head, wisely judging a consideration of such consequence, as that of religion, to be no indifferent thing. For my own part, notwithstanding the beauty and riches of the country, I could find no satisfaction in a place where I had lost all that was dear to me, though I had the comfort to have my dear *Isphena* and her three children all baptized by my own hand before they died; neither could length of time allay my grief, but on the contrary, every thing I saw revived the memory of my irreparable loss. I considered the instability of the fleeting joys of this world, where I thought I had built my happiness, for a man of my fortune, on the most solid foundation. But alas! all was gone as if it had been but a dream, and the adorable *Isphena* was no more. The good old Pophar was in a very little better condition, having lost his dearest daughter and his little grand children, particularly the eldest boy, who is in that picture with his mother. This reflection on the vanity of human felicity, made

* Probably about the christian religion, which are lost as aforesaid.

made him more disposed to hear the truths of our divine religion, so that he was resolved to go and search further into the reasons for it. There was another yet more forcible reason induced me to solicit the Popbar for my return into my native country, which was the care of my future state. I had lived so many years without the exercise of those duties our church obliges us to perform, and though I had not been guilty of any great crimes, I was not willing to die out of her bosom: however, to do all the good I could to a country where I had once enjoyed so much happiness, this being the last year we were to stay, I at length persuaded the Regent, that there might be some danger of an invasion of his country, from the opposite side towards the southern tropic; at least, I did not know but there might be some habitable climate that may not be so far over the sands as towards Lybia and Egypt. I had often signified my thoughts to him in that respect. I told him, that though his kingdom was safe and inaccessible to all but ourselves on that side, it was possible, it might be nigher the great ocean on the opposite one; or that the sands might not be of such extent; or in fine, there might be ridges of mountains, and from them, rivers running into the ocean, by which, in process of time, some barbarous people might ascend and disturb their long uninterrupted rest, without any fence to guard against such an emergency. This last thought alarmed him, so we were resolved to make a new trial, without communicating the design to any but the chief council of five, where we were sure, of inviolable secrecy. What confirmed me in my notion was, that when we were on the utmost point of our mountains southward, looking over the desarts, I could perceive something like clouds or fogs hanging always towards one part. I imagined them to be fogs covering the tops of some great mountains, which

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must have habitable vales. Being resolved to make a trial, we provided all things accordingly, and set out from the furthest part of the kingdom southwards, taking only five persons in our company, steering our course directly towards that point of the horizon where I observed the thick air always hanging towards one place. We took provision and water but for ten days, leaving word, that they should not trouble themselves about us, unless we made a considerable stay, because, in case we found mountains, we should always find springs and fruits to subsist on, while we made a further search into the country; otherwise, if we saw no hopes at the five days end, we should return the other five, and take new measures. The third day of our voyage, we found the deserts nothing so barren as we expected; the ground grew pretty hard, and the fourth day, discovered some tufts of moss and shrubs, by which we conjectured, we should soon come to firm land; the evening of that day we discovered the tops of the hills, but further off than we thought on, so that though we travelled at a great rate all that night and most of the next day, we could only arrive at the foot of them the fifth day at night. After some little search, we came to a fine spring, but, to our comfort, no signs of inhabitants; if we had, we should have returned immediately to take further advice. The next morning we got up to the top of the highest hill to discover the country, but found it to be only the point of a vast mountainous country, like the worst part of our Alps, though there were some fertile vales and woods, but no footsteps of its ever having been inhabited, as we believed, since the creation. Seeing we could make good provision for our return, we were in no great pain about time. We wandered from place to place, viewing and observing every way. We went on thus along those craggy hills and precipices for five days;

days; they began to lessen towards our right, but seemed rather to encrease the other way. At length in the most dismal and horrid part of the hillbrow, one of our young men thought he spied something like the figure of a man sitting by a little spring, under a craggy rock just below us; we sent three of our people round another way to keep him from running into the wood, while the Pophar and myself stole quietly over the rock where he was. As soon as he saw us, he whips up a broken chink in the rock and disappeared immediately. We were sure he could not get from us, so we closed and searched till we found a little cave in the windings of the rock, where was his retiring place. His bed was made of moss and leaves, with little heaps of dried fruits, of different sorts, for his sustenance. When he saw us, he was surprised; he rushed at us like a lion, thinking to make his way through us, but being all five at the mouth of the cave, he stood ready to defend himself against our attempts. Viewing him a little nigher, we saw he had some remains of an old tattered coat, and part of a pair of breeches, with a ragged sash or girdle round his waist, by which, to our great surprise, we found he was an European. The Pophar spoke to him in *Lingua Franca*, and asked him who or what he was; he shook his head as if he did not understand us. I spoke to him in French, Italian and Latin, but he was a stranger to those languages. At length he cried out, *Inglis, Inglis*. I had learned something of that language when I was a student at Paris. Knowing my father had a mind I should learn as many languages as I could, I had made an acquaintance with several English and Scotch students in that university, particularly with one *F. Johnson*, an English benedictine, and could speak it pretty well for a foreigner, but had almost forgot it for want of use. I bid him take courage and fear nothing,

for we would do him no harm. As soon as ever he heard me speak English, he fell down on his knees, and begged us to take pity on him, and carry him to some habitable country, where he might possibly get an opportunity of returning home again, or at least of living like a human creature. Upon this he came out to us, but looked more like a wild beast than a man; his hair, beard, and nails, were grown to a great length, and his mein was as haggard as if he had been a great while in that wild place; though he was a stout well-built man, and shewed something above the common rank.

We went down to the fountain together, where he made us to understand, that his father was an East India merchant, and his mother a Dutch woman of Batavia; that he had great part of his education in London, but being very extravagant, his father, whose natural son he was, had turned him off, and sent him to Batavia to his mother's friends; that by his courage and industry, he was in a way of making his fortune, being advanced to be a lieutenant in the Dutch guards at Batavia, but was unhappily cast away on the coast of Africa, where they had been on a particular adventure; that he and his companions, four in number, wandering up in the country to seek provisions, were taken by some strange barbarians, who carried them a vast, unknown way into the continent, designing to eat them or sacrifice them to their inhuman gods, as they had done his companions; but, being hale and fat at the time of his taking, they reserved him for some particular feast; that as they were carrying him thro' the woods, another party of barbarians, enemies to the former, met them, and fell a fighting for their booty; which he perceiving, knowing he was to be eaten if he stayed, slunk away in the scuffle into the thickest woods, hiding himself by day and marching
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all night, he did not know where, but as he conjectured, still higher into the country.

Thus he wandered from hill to hill, and wood to wood, till he came to a desert of sands, which he was resolved to try to pass over, not daring to return back, for fear of falling into the hands of those merciless devourers. He passed two days and two nights without water, living on the fruits he carried with him, as many as he could, till he came to this mountainous part of the country, which he found uninhabited; taking up his abode in that rock, where he never had any hopes of seeing a human creature again; neither did he know himself where he was, or which way to go back. In fine, he told us he had lived in that miserable place now upwards of five years.

After we had comforted him as well as we could, I asked him, which way the main sea lay, as near as he could guess, and how far he thought it was to it. He pointed with his hand towards the south, a little turning towards the east, and said, he believed it might be thirty or forty days journey, but advised us never to go that way, for we should certainly be devoured by the barbarians. I asked him, whether the country was habitable from that place down to the sea. He told me, yes; except that desert we had passed; but whether it was broader in other places, he could not tell.

All the time he was speaking, the Pophar eyed him from top to toe; and calling me aside, "what monster" says he "have we got here? There is a whole legion of wild beasts in that man; I see the lion, the goat, the wolfe and the fox in that one person. I could not forbear smiling at the Pophar's skill in physiognomy, and told him, we should take care he should do no harm. Then I turned to the man and asked him, if he would conform himself to the laws and rites of the country if we carried him

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among men again, where he should want for nothing. He embraced my knees, and said, he would conform to any laws or any religion if I would but let him see a habitable country again. I stared at the man, and began to think there was some truth in the Popphar's science. However, I told him, if he would but behave like a rational creature, he should go along with us; but he must suffer himself to be blindfolded till he came to the place. He startled a little, and seemed to be prodigiously suspicious, lest we should deceive him. But on my assuring him, on the faith of a human creature, that he should come to no harm, he consented.

After we had refreshed ourselves, being both glad and concerned for the information we had received of the nature of the country, which was the end of our journey, in order to guard against all inconveniences, we covered his eyes very close, and conducted him back along with us, sometimes on foot, sometimes on one of the spare dromedaries, till we arrived safe from whence we set out: then we let him see where he was, and what a glorious country he was come into. We clothed him like ourselves, that is in our travelling dress, to shew he was not an entire stranger to our race. He seemed lost in admiration of what he saw. He embraced me with all the signs of gratitude imaginable; he conformed to all our customs, and made no scruple of assisting at all their idolatrous ceremonies, as if he had been as good a heathen as the best of them; which I seeing, without declaring myself to be a christian, I told him, that I had been informed, the people of the country where he was educated were christians, and wondered to see him join in adoring the sun. "Pugh!" says he "some biggotted people make a scruple, but most of our men of sense think one religion is as good as another" By this I perceived our savage was of a new set of people, which I had
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heard of before I left Italy, called *politici*,* who are a sort of atheists in masquerade. The Pophar, out of his great skill in physiognomy, would have no conversation with him; and commanded me to have a strict eye over him.

However, the information he had given us of the possibility of invading the kingdom the way he came, answered the intent of our voyage, and my former conjectures; about which there was a grand council held, and orders given to secure the foot of our outermost mountain southwards, which ran a great way into the desert; so that it was sufficient to guard against any of those barbarous invaders of the continent. But to return to our European savage, for he may be justly called so, being more dangerous in a commonwealth, that the very Hickses themselves; though he was a person who had a tolerable civilized education, bating the want of all sense of religion, which he sucked in from his perpetual conversation with libertines. He had a smattering of most kinds of polite learning, but without a bottom in any respect.

After he had been with us sometime, his principles began to shew themselves in his practice. First, he began to be rude with our women, married or single it was all alike to him; and by an unaccountable spirit of novelty or contradiction, our women seemed inclined to be very fond of him; so that we were at our wits ends about him. Then he began to find fault with our government, despising and condemning all our ceremonies and regulations: but his great aim was to pervert our youth, enticing them to all manner of liberties, and endeavouring to make them believe, that there was no such thing as
moral

* The politici were fore-runners of our modern free-thinkers, whose principles tend to the destruction of all human society, as our author shews incomparably well by and by.

moral evil in nature ; that there was no harm in the greatest crimes, if they could but evade the laws and punishments attending them.

As I had endeavoured to create a confidence in him, he came to me one day, and said, that since I was an European as well as himself, we might make ourselves men for ever, if I would join with him : " you see " says he " these men cannot fight ; nay, will rather be killed themselves than kill any one else ; can't you shew me the way out of this country, where we will get a troop of stout fellows well armed, and come and plunder all the country ; we shall get immense riches, and make ourselves lords and masters of all. I heard him with a great deal of attention, and answered him, that I thought the project might easily take, only for the horrid wickedness of the fact ; especially for us two, who had received such favours from the Pophar and his people ; he, for his being delivered from the greatest misery ; and myself, who had been freed from slavery and made one of the head men of the kingdom ; that the action would deserve to be branded with eternal infamy, and the blackest ingratitude ; beside, the infinite villainies, injustices, crimes, and deaths of innocent persons, who must perish in the attempt ; which would always stare us in the face, and torment us with never-ceasing stings of conscience till our death. " Conscience ! " says he " that is a jest ; a mere engine of priestcraft : all right is founded in power ; let us once get that, and who will dispute our right ? As for the injustice of it, that is a mere notion, distinction of crimes, mere bigotry, and the effect of education, ushered in under the cloak of religion. Let us but be successful, and I will answer for your scruples." I told him, it was a matter not to be resolved on, on a sudden ; that I would consider on it ; but I bid him be sure keep his matters to himself.

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I went immediately to the Pophar, and gave an account of what had passed. He was struck with horror at the recital, not so much for the consequences, as that human nature could be brought to such a monstrous deformity. "If your Europeans are men of such principles, who would not fly to the furthest corner of the earth to avoid their society? Or rather, who can be sure of his life among such people? Whoever thinks it no more in itself to kill me than to kill a fly, will certainly do it if I stand in his way. If it were lawful" continued he "by our constitutions to kill this man, he deserves a thousand deaths who makes it lawful to destroy all the world besides." I answered, that all the Europeans were not men of his principles, nor even those of his nation, who were generally the most compassionate, and best natured men in the world; but that he was of a new set of wretched people who called themselves *deists*; and interiorly laughed at all religion and morality, looking upon them as mere engines of policy and priestcraft. "Interiorly!" says he. Yes, and would cut any man's throat exteriorly and actually if it were not for fear of the gallows. "Shut him up" cried he, "from all commerce of men, lest his breath should infect the whole world; or rather, let us send him back to his cave to live like a wild beast; where, if he is devoured by the savages, they do him no injury, by his own principles." I represented to him that we were just on our journey back to Grand Cairo, where we would carry him blindfold, that he should not know our way over the sands, and give him his liberty; but that we should shut him up till then. This was agreed on; so I took a sufficient number of men to seize him; and to do it without any mischief, for he was as stout as a lion, we contrived to come upon him in his bed, where we caught him with one of our young women. Three of them fell upon him
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at once, and kept him down while the rest tied his hands and legs, and carried him into a strong hold, whence it was impossible for him to escape. The woman was shut up apart, according to our laws.

When he found himself taken, he called me by the most cruel names he could think on, as, the most wicked and treacherous villain that ever was, thus to betray him, and the trust he had put in me. Yes, says I, it is a crime to discover your secrets, and no crime in you to subvert the government, and set all mankind a cutting one another's throats by your monstrous principles; so I left him for the present.

Some time after I went to him and told him, our council had decreed, he should be carried back from whence he came, and be delivered over to the savages, either to be devoured by them, or to defend himself by his principles as well as he could. He cried out, sure we would not be guilty of such a horrid barbarity. Barbarity! said I, that is a mere jest! they will do you no injury; if your flesh is a rarity to them, when they have you in their power, they have full right to make use of it. He begged by all that was dear, we would not send him to the savages, but rather kill him on the spot. Why, say I, you are worse than the greatest cannibals, because they spare their friends, and only hate their enemies; whereas your principles spare no body, and acknowledge no tie in nature. At length he owned himself in a mistake, and seemed to renounce his errors. When I told him, if he would engage his most solemn promise to suffer himself to be blind-folded, and behave peaceably, we would carry him to a place where he might find an opportunity to return to his own country. But, says I, what signifies promises and engagements in a man who laughs at all obligations, and looks upon it as just and lawful to break them as to make them. No, he cursed himself with the most dreadful imprecations, if he were not tractable
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in all things we should command him. But, says he again, won't you deliver me back to the savages; I answered in the same tone, should we do you any wrong if we did? At length to appease him I promised him faithfully we would put him in a way to return into his own country; but bid him consider, if there was no such thing as right and wrong, what would become of the world, or what security could there be in human life?

In a few weeks the time drew on for our great journey to Grand Cairo, where I was in hopes of seeing my native country once more. All things were now as good as ready; the Pophar and myself had other designs than usual, and were in some pain to think of leaving that once so happy a country. Though, as I said, all things that could make me happy, were buried with my dear *Isiphena*. The Pophar had some serious thoughts of turning christian. The evidences of our religion were soon perceived by a person of his deep penetration; though persons of little learning and great vices pretend they do not see them. But, like a wise man, he was resolved to examine into it, in the places where it was exercised in the greatest splendor.

We provided a good quantity of jewels, and as much gold as we could well carry, for our present expenses to Grand Cairo and elsewhere, and future exigencies. I went to my deist in his grotto, and threw him in as much gold and jewels as were sufficient to glut his avarice, and make him happy in his brutal way of thinking. But I would not trust myself with him alone, for all his promises, as he, on his side, expressed still a diffidence of trusting any body, I suppose from the consciousness of his own vile principles. Then I threw him a blinding-cap which we had made for him, that he should not see our way over the deserts. This cap was made like a head-piece, with breathing places for his mouth
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and nose, as well as to take in nourishment, opening at the back part, and clasping with a spring behind, that being once locked, he could not open it himself. He put it on his head two or three times before he durst venture to close it. At length he clasped it, and he was as blind as a beetle. We went to him and tied his hands, which he let us do quietly enough, and still begged us, that we would not betray him to the savages. I bid him think once more, that now his own interior sense told him, that to betray him would be a crime; by consequence there was such a thing as evil.

All things being in readiness, we mounted our dromedaries. The Pophar and all the rest kissed the ground as usual; I did the same, out of respect to the place, which contained the remains of my never too much lamented *Isiphena*, the ashes of whose heart are in the hollow of the stone whereon is her picture. Not to mention the ceremonies of our taking leave, we were conducted in a mournful manner over the bridge, and launched once more over the ocean of the sands and deserts, which were before us. Our savage was on a dromedary, which would follow the rest, but led by a cord fastened to one of the rest for security. It stumbled with him twice or thrice, and threw him off once, but without any great hurt. But the fear of breaking his neck, put him in such an agony, that though he was as bold as a lion on other occasions, he was prodigiously startled at the thoughts of death.

We arrived at Grand Cairo at the usual period of time, without any particular disaster. As soon as we were settled, the Pophar ordered me to send the deist packing as soon as we could. "This brutak race" says he "next to the cannibals, are the fittest company for him." I unlocked the blinding helmet, and told him we had now fulfilled our promise; that he was at Grand Cairo, where he might find some

some way or other to return into Europe ; and to convince him, carried him to some European merchants who assured him of the same, delivering to him his gold and jewels. I begged him to reflect on his obligations to us, and the grateful acknowledgments due to our memory on that account. We had taken him from that miserable solitude where he lived more like a wild beast than a man ; where he was in danger of being found and devoured by the cannibals. We had brought him into one of the happiest countries in the world, if he would but have conformed to our laws ; and now had given him his liberty to go where he pleased, with riches sufficient to make him easy, and benefits to make him grateful all his life ; so I took my leave of him. But to our sorrow we had not done with him yet.

As soon as the Pophar and the rest had performed the ceremony of visiting the tombs of their ancestors, or rather the places where the tombs had been, the good old man and myself began to think of our measures for our journey into Italy. During the time we had to stay, he ordered his people to stay there till the next annual caravan ; or in case he did not return by that time, they were to return, and he would take the opportunity of the next caravan afterwards, because he was upon business that nearly concerned him.

We had agreed with a master of a ship to carry us to Venice, which, as I had the honor to acquaint your reverences before, was a French ship, commanded by *Monsieur Gadart*. We had fixed the day to go aboard, when, behold our savage at the head of a band of turks came and seized every one of us in the name of the great Bassa. By great good fortune while I staid at Grand Cairo, I had the grateful curiosity to inform myself what was become of the former Bassa's daughter we left there five and twenty years ago. The people told me, the daughter

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ter was married to the grand Sultan, and was now sultaness mother to the present sultan, and regent of the empire; adding, that her brother was their present great Bassa. This lucky information saved all our lives or liberties. We were carried prisoners before the great Bassa, the faithless savage accusing us of crimes against the state; that we were immensely rich, a crime of itself sufficient to condemn us, and might make a discovery of a country of vast advantage to the grand Signor. To be short, we had all been put to the torture had not I begged leave to speak a word or two in private to the great Bassa. There I told him who I was; that I was the person who had saved his sister's, (the now empress) life; and to convince him, told him all the circumstances except that of her love, though he had heard something of that too; I shewed him the ring she had given me for a remembrance, which he also remembered; adding, that we were innocent men, who lived honestly, according to our own laws, coming there to traffick like other merchants, and had been traduced by one of the greatest villains upon earth. In a word, this not only got us off and procured us an ample passport from the great Bassa for our further voyage, but he also ordered the informing wretch to be seized and sent to the gallies for life. He offered to turn turk if they would spare him; but they being apprized of his principles, said he would be a disgrace to their religion, and ordered him away immediately: upon which, seeing there was no mercy, before they could seize his hands, being grown mad with rage and despair, he drew out a pistol and shot himself through the head, not being able to find a worse hand than his own. The Pophar, good man, bore those misfortunes with wonderful patience, though he assured me his greatest grief was, to see human nature so far corrupted, as it was in that impious wretch, who could think the
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most horrid crimes were not worth the notice of the supreme governor of the universe. "But we see" says he "that providence can make the wicked themselves the instruments of its just vengeance. For can any thing be so great a blot upon human nature, as to be its own destroyer, when the very brutes will struggle for life till the last gasp?"

However, he was uneasy till he had left that hateful place: besides, there was some signs of the plague breaking out; so we went down to Alexandria as fast as we could; and to encourage *Monsieur Godart*, he made him a present before hand of a diamond of considerable value.

We set sail for Candy, where *Monsieur Godart* was to touch, the 16th day of August, Anno 1712. But alas! whether these troubles, or not being used to the sea, or some infection of the plague he had caught at Grand Cairo, or altogether, is uncertain, but that great good man fell so dangerously ill, that we thought we could scarce get him to Candy. He assured me by the knowledge he had of himself and nature, that his time was come. We put in at the first creek, where the land air a little refreshed him; but it was a fallacious crisis, for in a few days all of us saw his end draw near. Then he told me, he was resolved to be baptized, and die in the christian faith. I got him instructed by a reverend priest, belonging to *Monsieur Godart*, his name was *Monsieur la Grelle*, whom I had formerly known when he was a student in the college for foreign missions; and what was the only comfort I had now left, I saw him baptized, and yield up the ghost with a courage becoming the greatest hero and the best of men.—This was the greatest affliction I ever had in my whole life, after the death of his daughter. He left me all his effects, which were sufficient to make me happy in this life; if riches can procure happiness.

We had some days to stay before *Monsieur Godart* could.

could make an end of his concerns. I was walking in a melancholy posture along the sea shore, and reflecting on the adventures of my past life, occasioned by those very waters whereon I was looking, when I came, or rather my feet carried me, to a hanging rock on the side of the island, just on the edge of the sea, and where there was just room enough for two or three persons to stand privately under covert, very difficult to be discerned; where, going to sit down and indulge my melancholy thoughts, I espied a turk and two women, as if concealed under the rock. My own troubles not allowing me the curiosity to pry into other peoples concerns, made me turn short back again; but the elder of the two women, who was mistress of the other, seeing by my dress, that I was a stranger and a christian (being now in that habit) came running to me, and falling on her knees, laid hold of mine, and begged me to take pity on a distressed woman, who expected every moment to be butchered by one of the most inhuman villains living, from whose violence they had fled, and hid themselves in that place in expectation of finding a boat to convey them off. I lifted her up, and thought I saw something in that face I had seen before, though much altered by years and troubles. She did the same by me, and at length cried out, "O heavens! it can't be the man I hope!" I remembered confusedly something of the voice, as well as the face; and after a deal of astonishment, found it was the Curdish lady who had saved my life from the pirate *Hamits*. "Oh!" says she "I have just time enough to tell you, that we expect to be pursued by that inhuman wretch, unless you can find a boat to carry us off before he finds us, otherwise we must fall a sacrifice to his cruelty." I never stayed to consider consequences, but answered precipitately, that I would do my best, and so ran back to the ship as fast as I could, and with the help of

of the first man, brought the boat to the rock. I was just getting out to take hold of her hand, when we heard some men coming rushing in behind us, and one of them cried, "Hold, villain, that wicked woman shall not escape so, and fires a pistol, which missing the lady, shot the man attending her into the belly, so that he fell down presently, though not quite dead. I had provided myself with a Turkish scymitar and a case of pistols under my sash, for my defence on shipboard; I saw there was no time to deliberate, so I fired directly at them, for they were three, and had the good luck to drop one of them. But Hamets, as I found afterwards, minding nothing but his revenge on the woman, fired again, and missing the lady a second time, shot her maid through the arm, and was drawing his scymitar to cleave her down, when I stepped in between the lady, but shooting with too much precipitancy, the bullets passed under his arm, and lodged in the body of his second; he started back at the fire so near him, which gave me time to draw my scymitar. Being now upon equal terms, he retired two or three paces, and cried, "who art thou that ventur'st thy life so boldly for this wicked woman?" I knew his voice perfectly well, neither was he so much altered as the lady. I am the man, said I, whose life thou wouldest have taken, but this lady saved it, whose cause I shall now revenge, as well as my own and my dear brother's. We made no more words, but fell to it with our scymitars with all our might; he was a brave stout man, and let me see I should have work enough to hew him down. After several attacks, he gave me a considerable wound on my arm, and I cut him across the cheek a pretty large gash, but not to endanger his life. At length the justice of my cause would have it, that striking off his turban at one stroke, and with another, falling on his bare head, I cut him quite into the brain; that some of them

spurred on my scymitar. He fell down, as I thought, quite dead, but after some time he gave a groan, and uttered these words, "*Mahomet*, thou art just, I killed this woman's husband, and she has been the occasion of my death." With these words he gave up the ghost.

By this time the lady's attendant was dead, so I took the lady and her woman without staying, for fear of further difficulties, and putting them into the boat, conducted them to the ship. *Monsieur Godard* was extremely troubled at the accident, saying, we should have all the island upon us, and made great difficulty to receive the lady; but upon a just representation of the case, and an abundant recompense for his effects left behind, we got him to take her in, and hoist sail for Venice as fast as we could.

The lady had now time to thank me for her delivery, and I to congratulate my happy fortune in being able to make a return for her saving of my life.

During our passage, I begged her to give us the history of her fortunes since I left her, which I prognosticated then could not be very happy, considering the hands she was fallen into.

"You remember" says she "I made a promise to *Hamets* that I would marry him on condition he would save your life?" Yes, madam, said I, and am ready to venture my own once more in return for so great a benefit. "You have done enough" says she, and with that acquainted us, that when I was sold off to the strange merchant, *Hamets* carried her to Algiers, and claimed her promise. "I was entirely ignorant" says she "of his having a hand in the death of my my dear lord; but, on the contrary, the villain had contrived his wickedness so cunningly, that I thought he had generously ventured his own life to save his, and being, as you know, a very handsome man, of no very inferior rank, and expressing the

the most ardent love for my person, and I having no hopes of returning into my own country, fulfilled my promise made on your account, and married him. We liv'd contentedly enough together for some years bating that we had no children, till his constant companion, who was the man attending me at the rock, and was killed by that villain, fell out about a fair slave which *Omar*, so he was called, had bought or taken prisoner in some of their piracies. *Hamets*, as well as he, fell in love with her, and would have taken her for his concubine, but the other concealed her from him. They had like to have fought about it. *Hamets* vowed revenge. The other, who was the honestest man of the two, was advised to be upon his guard, and to deliver the woman to him, which he never would consent to, but was resolved to run all risques rather than the young lady should suffer any dishonor. In the mean time, her friends, who were rich people of Circassia, hearing where she was, made interest to have her ransomed, and taken from both of them, by the authority of the Dey of Algiers, who was otherwise no friend to *Hamets*. This last had been informed that *Omar*, because he could not enjoy her himself, contrived to have her ransomed from his rival, and I myself had a hand in the affair, for which he threatened revenge on both of us; and being also disgusted with the Dey, he gave orders to have his ships ready to move, and follow his trade of piracy. Then *Omar* informed me how *Hamets* had murdered my first husband, having hired the Arabians to do it, while he pretended to defend him to avoid my suspicions; with such circumstances of the fact, that I saw the truth was too clear. It is not to be expressed the horror and detestation I was in, both against *Hamets*, and against myself for marrying such a monster. *Omar* added, that he was certainly informed, that as soon as he had us out at sea, he would make away with us both; and

and told me, if I would trust myself with him, he would undertake to carry me off in a boat, and conduct me into my own country.

I was resolved to fly to the farthest end of the earth to avoid his loathed sight; so resolved to pack up our most precious things, and go along with him. He procured a boat to meet us, at a little creek of the island, by a person he thought he could confide in; but who betrayed the whole affair to *Hamets*; of which also we had timely notice to remove from the station where we expected the boat, and flying along the coast as privately as we could, hid ourselves under the rock where you found us, expecting either to find some favourable occasion to be carried off, or to die by the hand of *Hamets*, which we certainly had done, had he not met with his just death by yours.

The lady had scarce given us this short account of her misfortunes, and we were not only congratulating her for her deliverance, but stood in admiration at the justice of providence, which reached over this villain, both to bring him to condign punishment for the murder of the innocent *Curd*, and making him die by my hand, five and twenty years after he had robbed and killed my brother, with all his crew, sold me for a slave, and would have killed me also, had not the strange lady saved my life; I say, we were making such like reflections on this strange accident, when they told us from above, that two vessels stemmed to come full sail upon us, as if they were pursuing us with all their might. We made all the sail we could, but our ship being pretty heavily loaded, we saw we must be overtaken.

Some of us were resolved to fight it out to the last in case they were enemies. But *Monsieur Godart* would not consent to it, saying, the *Bassa's* passport would secure us, or by yielding peaceably, we might be ransomed. They came up to us in a short

short time, and saluted us with a volley of shot to shew what we were to trust to. We struck our sails and let them board us without any resistance. *Monsieur Godart*, as I thought, with too mean a spirit, told them, with cap in hand, that he would give them any satisfaction; and assured them, he would not willingly fall out with the subjects of the grand Signor. They seized every man of us, and spying the lady and myself, "there they are," said they "the adulteress and her lover, with the spoils of her murdered husband." Which words, shewing they were turks pursuing us from Candy, struck *Monsieur Godart* all of a heap at once, and made me imagine I should have much ado to find any quarter. They hauled us upon deck, making shew as if they were going to cut off my head. I never thought myself so near death before; but had the presence of mind to cry out before the whole crew, that we were servants of the grand Sultaneß, and produced the passport of the great Bassa, her brother, charging them on their peril not to touch us. This stopt their fury a little; some cried out, "hold, have a care what you do." Others cried, "kill them all for robbers and murderers; the Sultaneß will never protect such villains as these."

When the hurly-burly was somewhat appeased, *Monsieur Godart* reasoned the case with them, and told them, if they murdered us, they could never conceal it, since all the crew of the three ships heard our appeal to the Sultaneß-Mother, the passport setting forth among other things, that I had saved the life of the grand Sultaneß. This brought them to a demur. The chiefs of them began to consult among themselves what was best to be done. When I begged leave to speak, told them, if they would carry us to Constantinople, we would willingly submit our lives and all that belonged to us, in case the Sultaneß did not own the fact, and take us into her protection.

protection. That in case they put us to death, some one or other, in such a number, would certainly inform against them, the consequences of which they knew very well. I touched also, but tenderly, on the death of *Hamets*, and our innocence. The first part of my speech made them pass over the other. They demurred again, and at length resolved to carry us to Constantinople, and proceed against us by way of justice, not doubting to make good prize of us on account of our being christians. Thus was our journey to Venice interrupted for some time by this accident.

When we came to the port, *Monsieur Godart* got leave to send our case to *Monsieur Savigni*, the French Resident; who found means to represent to the Sultaness-Mother, that there was a stranger in chains, who pretended to be the person who had saved her life when she was at Grand Cairo, and would give her proofs of it if he could be admitted to her highness's presence. I would not send the ring she gave me for fear of accidents. The Sultaness gave orders immediately, I should be brought to her presence; ; saying, she should easily know the person, for all it was so long ago. I put on the same kind of dress I was in when she first saw me, which, if your reverences remember, was the travelling dress of the Mezoraniens. When I was brought into her presence, I scarce knew her, being advanced to a middle age, and in the attire of the grand Sultaness; she looked at me with a great deal of emotion, and bid me approach nigher. I immediately fell on my knees, and holding the ring in my hand, which she gave me at parting, as if I were making a present of it, madam, said I, behold a slave who had the honour to save your highness's life, and now begs his own and that of his companions; and most humbly requests your highness to accept of this jewel as a token of our last distress. Instead of answering me, which put me in great pain, almost

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doubting whether I was right or not, she turned to her nigheft attendants, and cried in a pretty foft voice, "It is he, I know him by his voice as well as drefs." and rifing off her feat, came and took the ring herfelf; and looking attentively at it, "Yes, fir," faid ſhe "I own the ring and bearer; and acknowledge you to be the perſon who ſaved my life; for which reaſon I give you yours, and all that belongs to you, forbidding all under pain of death, to give you the leaſt trouble," and withal ordered a prodigious rich Turkiſh robe to be thrown over my ſhoulders, as a ſign of her favour. Immediate orders were ſent to the port to ſet *Monsieur Godart* and all his crew at liberty, and to feaſt us as particular friends of the grand Sultaneſs.

The company being diſmiſſed, ſhe made a ſign for me to ſtay, having further buſineſs with me.—When all were gone, but two of her chief favourite women, ſhe came to me without any ceremony, and taking me in her arms, as if I had been her brother, ſhe embraced me with a great deal of tenderneſs; her joy to ſee me, making her lay aſide her grandeur, and yield to the tranſport of undisguiſed nature. She led me by the hand into a moſt magnificent apartment, ſaying, "come, *Signor Gaudentio*, for ſo I think you are called, after you have reſreſhed yourſelf, you ſhall tell me your adventures." She made no ſcruple to ſit down with me, being now not only miſtreſs of herſelf, but of the whole Ottoman empire, as well as ſure of her attendants. We had a reſreſhment of all the rarities of the eaſt, with the richeſt wines for me, though ſhe drank none herſelf. "I long to hear your adventures" continued ſhe "of ſo many years abſence." So I told her in ſhort, how I was carried by that ſtrange merchant into an unknown country, without telling her the way we went thither; where I had married the Regent's daughter. She bluſhed a little at that part, and ſhewed the re-
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remains of all her former beauty. But it put me in mind of my own indiscretion to touch on so nice a point. She passed it off with a great deal of goodness; and recovering myself, I continued to acquaint her of the reasons of my return, as well as how I was taken by *Hamets* the first time, which she had not been acquainted with before; and lastly, how I met with the same *Hamets* again, killed him, and by that means came into that misfortune. I called it then a misfortune, but look upon now to be one of my greatest happinesses, since, by that occasion, I have the honor of seeing your highness in that dignity, of which you are the most worthy of any one in all the Ottoman empire. She seemed to be in admiration at the course of my life, and asked me, "I think signor," said she "you said you were married; is your spouse with you?" No, madam, said I, alas! she is dead, and all my children, and I am going to retire and lead a private life in my native country.

With these and other discourses we passed the greatest part of the day, when she bid me go back to the ship in public, attended with all the marks of her high favours; but said, she would send for me privately in the evening, "for" said she "I have a thousand other things to ask you."

Accordingly I was introduced privately into the Seraglio; which she, being Sultaness Regent, could easily have done. There she entirely laid aside her grandeur. We talked all former passages over again, with the freedom of friends and old acquaintances; where, in our conversation, I found she was a woman of prodigious depth and judgment, as indeed her wading through so many difficulties, attending the inconstancy of the Ottoman court, particularly the regency, gave evident proof. I made bold to ask her, how she arrived at that dignity, though she was the only person in the world that deserved it; and took the liberty to say, in a familiar way, that I believed

I believed her highness was now sensible of the service I did her, in refusing to comply with her former demands, since the fates had reserved her to be the greatest empress of the world, not the consort of a wandering slave. Had I not been entirely assured of her goodness, I should not have dared to have touched on that head. She blushed with a little confusion at first, but putting it off with a grave air, she said "grandeur does not always make people happy. Ten thousand cares attend a crown; but the indifference I had for all things, made mine sit easier than it might have done otherwise. It is true" said she "that young people very seldom see their own good, and oftentimes run into such errors, by the violence of their passions, which not only deprives them of greater blessings, but renders their misfortunes irretrievable. Some time after you were gone" continued she "my father, the grand Bassa, was accused by some underhand enemies of male-administration, a thing too frequent in our court, and privately condemned to be strangled; but having some trusty friends of the port, he had notice of it before the orders came. He immediately departed from Grand Cairo, and took a round-about way towards Constantinople, to prevent, as the way is, the execution of them. He sent me before to prepare matters, and to intercede with the young Sultan, my late deceased lord, for his life; leaving word where I might let him know of the success of my intercession. I presented myself before the Sultan, with that modest assurance which my innocence, my youth and grief for my father's danger gave me. I fell down on my knees, and with a flood of tears begged my father's life. The Sultan looked at me with some amazement, and whatever he saw in my face, not only granted my request, and confirmed my father in his former post, but made a profession of love to my person; and even continued it with more

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constancy than I thought a grand Sultan capable of, having so many exquisite beauties to divert him, as they generally have. I consented, to save my father's life; and whether the indifference I had for all men made him more eager, I cannot tell; but I found I was the chief in his favour. He had some other mistresses now and then, of whom he was very fond; but I never teizing him, nor fretting myself about it, easily found I continued to have the solid part of his friendship; and bringing him the first male child, the present emperor, I became the chief Sultaneſs; and by his death and the minority of my ſon, am now Regent; by which I am capable of rendering you all the ſervice the Ottoman empire can perform, which I eſteem one of the happieſt events of my life."

I returned her the moſt profound bow and humble thanks a heart full of the moſt lively ſenſe of gratitude could poſſeſs. She offered me the firſt poſt of the Ottoman empire, if I would but become a muſſulman, or only ſo in appearance. "Or if," ſaid ſhe "you had rather be nigh me, you ſhall be the chief officer of my houſhold. Though" ſaid ſhe "I have had aſſurance enough that neither your inclinations nor principles can be forc'd, neither will I endeavour to do it, but leave you as much at your own liberty, as your generous maſter did when he bought you of *Hamets*." I expreſſed all the grateful acknowledgments poſſible for ſo generous an offer, but aſſured her with an air that even expreſſed ſorrow for the refusal, that I lay under religious obligations, which bound me indiſpenſably to return into my own country.

She was become now as much miſtreſs of her inclinations, as ſhe had acquired prudence and experience by the long command ſhe had over her huſband's heart and the whole Ottoman empire. So, after a month's ſtay ſhe let me go, with all the marks of honor her dignity would ſuffer her to expreſs.

press. She would have punished the persons that took us, but I interceded for them. *Monsieur Godart*, who was well rewarded for the loss of his time and confinement, can testify the truth of this history. The last words she said to me, were to bid me remember, that a turk and a woman were capable of generous gratitude and honor as well as christians. So we set sail for Venice.

SECRETARY.—Here one of the inquisitors came in with a gold medal in his hand, and turning to the examinant, said, “*Signor Gaudentio*, I believe you have found a relation in Italy as well as in Africa, and one of the same nation with your mother. It is the Persian lady you brought with you, whom we secured the same time we did you, but would not let you know it till we could procure intelligence from Venice, and a person who could speak the Persian language. We own we find her in the same story with you, and nothing material against you from Venice. Upon the examining her effects, we found this medal of the same make with yours, by which you knew who your mother was. She says it was about her neck when she was sold to the Persian merchant. But since we shall give you both your liberties in a short time, she shall be brought into you, and we give you leave to say what you will to her, with the interpreter by. Upon this, the lady was introduced with her maid and the interpreter. As soon as she saw our examinant in good health, and seemingly at liberty, a joyful serenity spread itself over her countenance, such as we had not seen before. Our examinant asked her, to be pleased to give an account of her life, so far as she thought proper, and how she came by that medal.

LADY.—“All I know of myself,” said she “is that the noble Curd who bought me of a Persian merchant, for a companion for his only daughter, about my own age, whom he thought I resembled

very much, often declared to me, that the merchant bought me of a Turkish woman, who left that medal about my neck, supposing it to be some charm or preservative against distempers, or because a sister of mine had the same fastened about her neck with a gold chain, which could not be taken off without breaking; but who, or where the sister was, I never knew.

The noble Curdish lord, who bought me, grew prodigious fond of me, and bred me up as another daughter; and not only so, but having an only son, something older than myself, he connived at a growing love he perceived between his son and myself; which, after some difficulties on both sides, at length came to a marriage, though it cost my generous benefactor and father-in-law his life; for, another young lord of Curdistan, falling in love with me, often challenged prince *Cali*, that was my dear husband's name, to decide their pretensions by the sword, which I had always forbid him to do; saying, that man should never be my husband who exposed my reputation by a duel; since the world would never believe, that any man would expose his life for a woman, unless there had been some encouragement given on both sides; whereas I never gave the least to any but prince *Cali*. However, the other met him one day, and attacked him so furiously, that prince *Cali* was forced to kill him in his own defence, making a thousand protestations that he had almost suffered himself to be killed rather than to disobey my orders. But the father of the prince, who was slain with a company of assassins, laid an ambuscade for prince *Cali* and his father, in which this latter was killed and most of his train; but by the valour of his son and two of his companions, the chief assassins were laid dead on the spot and the rest put to flight. But prince *Cali*, after the death of his father, fearing further treachery of that nature, presently after we were married, removed to another part of the kingdom,

dom, from whence he being sent on a commission by his king, he was inhumanly murdered by the barbarous *Hamets*.

This is the sum of my unfortunate life, till I had the good fortune to save yours."

SECRETARY.—We permitted the nephew and the aunt (for so they were found to be by the medal) to embrace one another. *Signor Gaudentio* assuring her, that by all appearance, he was the son of her sister, and the mother's sister that was lost, and both of them preserved to save each other's lives. The lady then declared, she would turn christian, since her misfortunes were come to that period. She was resolved to leave the world and retire into some of our monasteries. We put her among the nuns of our order, where she promises to be a signal example of virtue and piety.

The inquisitors ordered the examinant to give them the remaining part of his life, which, in all appearance, if they found his story to agree with their informations, might purchase him his liberty.

GAUDENTIO.—I was telling your reverences that at length we set sail from the port, and steered our course directly for Venice, where we happily arrived without any considerable accident, the 10th of December, Ann. Dom. 1712. I do not question but your reverences are already informed, that such persons did arrive at Venice about that time. *Monsieur Godart* is well known to several merchants and some of the senators of that famous city, whom he informed of what he saw with his own eyes. But there were some particular passages unknown to your reverences, wherein I had like to have made shipwreck of my life after so many dangers, as I did here of my liberty; though I do not complain, but only represent my hard fortune to your reverences consideration. It happened to be the carnival time during our stay at Venice. Curiosity led me, as well

as a great many other strangers of the first rank, to see the nature of it. I put on my Mezoranian habit, spangled with suns of gold, and the fillet-crown on my head, adorned with several jewels of very great value, which I believe was the most remarkable and magnificent dress of any there. I went unmasked, being assured my face and person was unknown to all that world. Every one's eyes were upon me. Several of the masqueraders came up to me and talked to me, particularly the ladies. They spoke to me in several languages, as Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, High-Dutch, &c. I answered them all in the Mezoranian language, which seemed as strange to them, as my dress. Some of them spoke to me in the Turkish and Persian language, in *Lingua Franca*, and some in an Indian language I really did not understand. I answered them still in the Mezoranian, of which no-body knew one word. Two ladies particularly, very richly dressed, followed me wherever I went. The one, as it proved afterwards, was *Favilla*, the celebrated courtesan, in the richest dress of all the company; the other was the lady who was with me when I was taken up, and was the occasion of my settling at Bologna. I mean the true reason, for I will conceal nothing from your reverences. Notwithstanding their diligence, I got away unknown at that time. The next time I came I appeared in the same dress, but with richer jewels. I had more eyes upon me then, than I had before. The courtesan pursued me again in a different but richer dress than the former. At length she got me by myself, and pulling off her masque, shewed me a wonderful pretty face, only there was too fierce an assurance in it. She cried in Italian, "O signor, you are not so ignorant of our language as you would seem to be! You can speak Italian and French too. Though we don't know who you are, we have learned you are a man of honor. If you would not understand

understand our words, you may understand a face, which very great personages have been glad to look at," and with that put on one of the most ensnaring airs I ever saw. I don't doubt but your reverences have heard of that famous courtesan, and how the greatest man in Venice was once her slave. I was just going to answer her when the other lady came up, and pulling off her masque also, said almost the same things, but with a modesty more graceful than her beauty, which was most exquisite, and the likest the incomparable *Isiphena* I ever saw. I made them both a most respectful bow, and told them, that it had been much safer for me if I had kept myself still unknown, and never seen such dangerous charms. I pronounced these words with an air, that shewed I was more pleased with the modesty of the last lady, than the commanding assurance of the first. The courtesan, though a little nettled at the preference she thought I gave the other, put on a more serious air, and said, she had been informed there was something very extraordinary in my character, and should be glad to hear more of it by herself; that her name was *Ravilla*, and that she lived in such a street, where I should find her house remarkable enough. The Bolognian lady, whom your reverences knew very well, and who was then at Venice on account of the death of her uncle, one of the senators, who had left her all his effects, said modestly, if I should favour her with a visit, as she had been informed that I was a learned man, and a virtuoso, she being inclined that way herself, she should be glad of an hour's conversation with me on that subject; telling me her name and where she lived; adding, if I would inform myself of her character, I need not be ashamed of her acquaintance; "nor I hope of mine, madam," says the other, thinking she had been reflected on by that word. It was *Monsieur Godart* who, with a levity peculiar to his nation,

nation, had made the discovery who I was, though he knew nothing of me but what passed since I came from Grand Cairo. I was going to reply to the ladies, when company came up and broke off the discourse. I was resolved to see neither of them, and would go no more to the assembly, though almost unavoidably I saw both afterwards. I enquired into *Favilla's* character, though I scarce doubted of it by what I saw and heard; and was informed, that she was an imperious courtesan, who had enslaved several persons of the first rank, of different nations; and enriched herself by their spoils; so I was fully resolved not to see her; but as *Monsieur Godart* and myself were walking to see the town, he brought me either industriously or accidentally by her door; she was sitting at the window of one of the most magnificent palaces in Venice, such spoils had she reaped from her bewitched lovers. As soon as she spied me, she sent a servant to tell me, that that lady would speak with me. I made some difficulty, but *Monsieur Godart* told me, a man of honor could not refuse such a favour as that; so I went in and *Monsieur Godart* with me. The lady received me with a most charming agreeable air, much different from her former assurance, and conducted me into a most magnificent apartment, leaving *Monsieur Godart* entertaining a very pretty lady, her companion. Not to detain your reverences too long, when I would not understand what she meant, she offered me marriage, with the inheritance of all her effects; I was put to the last nonplus. I assured her with a most profound bow, that though I was not worthy of such a happiness, I had an indispensable obligation on me never to marry. All the blood she had came in her face. I don't know what she was going to do, but finding her in that disorder, I made another bow, saying, I would consider further on her proposal,

posal, and walked directly out of the house, designing to leave Venice as soon as ever my affairs would give me leave.

Some time after *Monsieur Godart* came to me and told me, he was forced to do as I did; that the lady was in such an outrageous fury he did not know what might be the consequence. Three nights after as *Monsieur Godart*, and a young kinsman of his and myself, were going towards the Rialto in the dusk of the evening, four ruffians attacked us unawares; two of them set upon me, the other two attacked *Monsieur Godart* and his kinsman; the poor young gentleman was run through the body the first push; I made shift to disable one of my adversaries, but in doing it, the other run me through the ribs, but the sword took only part of my body, and missing my entrails, the point went out on the side of my back. *Monsieur Godart*, who to give him his due, behaved himself with a great deal of courage and bravery, had killed one of his men and wounded the other; but the ruffians seeing us now two to two, thought fit to march off as well as they could. I was forced to be led to my lodging, not doubting but the wound was mortal, though it proved not to be so. The affair made a great noise about town. We very rationally supposed it was *Favilla* who had set the assassins on, but we knew her to be so powerful with the senators, that there was no hopes of justice.

While I was recovering, I was told there was a lady, with two waiting women, desired to see me on very earnest business, if it would not be incommodious to me. (*Monsieur Godart* would not stir from my bed-side for fear of accidents) Who should this be but *Favilla*, who came all in mourning for my misfortune. I pretended to be a dying man, and took the liberty of telling her of her way of living; to what a dismal pass her passions had brought her;
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in fine, I said so much, and begged her by all that was dear to her to consider her state, that bursting into a flood of tears, she promised me if I died, she would become a penitent nun. I effected so much by letters afterwards, that though I recovered, she performed her promise.

The Belognian lady had heard of my misfortune, and by a goodness peculiar to the tender sex, particularly with regard to strangers, she sent often to know how I did, with presents of the richest cordials that could be got in Venice. Finding my illness continued longer than was expected, she sent me word, that though it was not so decent for her to make the first visit, she had heard so much of my adventures, as very much raised her curiosity to hear them from my own mouth, when I was capable of conversation without doing me any prejudice. I had informed myself of her character from very good hands, so that I was very curious to converse with a person of so incomparable talents as I heard she was mistress of. She was the only woman next to *Isiphena* and the great Bassa's daughter I ever much liked in my life. To sum up all in short, she came several times to see me, insomuch, that we contracted the most virtuous friendship by our mutual inclination to learning, and the sympathy of our tempers, as ever passed between two persons of different sexes. It was on her account I resolved to settle at Bologna; and having some knowledge in nature and physic, I took on me that character, to be the oftner in her company without scandal. We were neither of us inclined to marry. She is one of the most virtuous women living; and myself being advanced in years, as we were entirely masters of ourselves, we thought our innocent friendship could be offensive to no one. What has since passed since I came to this town, I do not doubt but your reverences are apprised of.

This is a true and full account of my life hitherto.

Whatever

Whatever is blameable in it, I hope your reverences will pardon, as I submit it entirely to your judgments.

SECRETARY.—As I had the honor to inform you before, we enquired into all these facts, which he said happened to him in the company of *Monsieur Godart*, which finding to be true, we judged the rest might be so. We asked him if he would conduct some of our missionaries to that strange country he mentioned; he told us he would, but not to trust him entirely, as not knowing what he might do with them when he had them in unknown countries. We thought fit to give him his liberty, first to go where he would, even out of Italy, with assurances if he came back of his own accord, we would send missionaries along with him. He went to Venice and Genoa about his concerns, and is now come back and with us, so that we believe the man to be really what he professes himself to be.

THE END.

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